

**NAVIGATING NEIGHBORHOODS: HOW SOCIAL NETWORKS AND SPACE  
SHAPE THE DECISIONS AND EXPERIENCES OF FAMILIES  
IN HOUSING MOBILITY PROGRAMS**

---

A Dissertation  
Submitted  
to the Temple University Graduate Board

---

In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

---

By  
Melody L. Boyd  
May, 2011

Committee Members:

Dr. Kimberly Goyette, Major Advisor, Department of Sociology  
Dr. Anne Shlay, Department of Sociology  
Dr. David Elesh, Department of Sociology  
Dr. Kathryn Edin, Harvard Kennedy School

## **ABSTRACT**

Navigating Neighborhoods: How Social Networks and Space Shape the Decisions and Experiences of Families in Housing Mobility Programs

Melody L. Boyd

Temple University, 2010

Doctoral Advisory Committee Chair: Dr. Kimberly Goyette

This dissertation focuses on the relationship between social ties and space, and analyzes the ways that race, class, and gender intersect in specific spatial contexts to shape access to opportunity and influence families' neighborhood decisions and experiences. This research contributes to our understanding of what aspects of neighborhoods are important to families, and what constraints shape mobility choices. I add to existing research by examining the initial processes of adjusting to new neighborhoods, focusing especially on the components of neighborhood transitions that are significant for low-income women who are heads of households. Also, few studies capture the stories of both parents and youths in the same family, and I add to the literature by analyzing the role of youths in families' mobility decisions.

I use in-depth qualitative interview data that was collected by Northwestern University's Institute for Policy Research (IPR) between 2002 and 2005 with a randomly chosen sample of adults and youth in 91 families who participated in the Gautreaux Two housing mobility program in Chicago. This analysis assesses the various factors that influenced the range of program outcomes in order to understand the social processes involved.

The results of this analysis show that respondents had complicated perspectives about moving out of public housing. Most respondents were eager to move out of their

baseline neighborhoods, especially for the sake of their children. However, many also cited things they missed about the neighborhood once they moved. Although most respondents were highly motivated to move out of public housing, many faced severe obstacles in locating an eligible unit. Some of these obstacles related to the poor implementation of the Gautreaux Two program, as well as to the tight rental market in Chicago at the time.

After moving through the program, many families experienced hassles with landlords, substandard unit quality, distance from kin and support networks, and difficulty in creating new social ties in placement neighborhoods resulting in social isolation and transportation and financial difficulties. Other respondents had supportive relationships with landlords, good quality units, were able to maintain ties with kin, and developed relationships with new neighbors. Participants generally valued the racial diversity of their Gautreaux neighborhoods, and many emphasized the importance of having their children live in racially diverse areas. While some respondents' children faced racial discrimination in their new neighborhoods and schools, this was not the primary impetus for making subsequent mobility decisions. Thus, same-race preferences did not appear to enter into decision-making about moving on for the majority of Gautreaux respondents. Instead, practical concerns about unit and landlord quality were paramount, as were connections with kin networks and social ties.

Policy implications include the need for further pre-move housing counseling for families in mobility programs, as well as continued program assistance to build and maintain strong social networks and connections to resources beyond the initial placement.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am deeply grateful to many people for their support, encouragement, advice and feedback during graduate school and the writing of this dissertation. First, I would like to thank my dissertation chair, Kim Goyette, for her contributions to my graduate career. Kim encouraged me in my roles as a student, teacher, presenter, researcher, and writer. She always provided prompt and insightful feedback, and I learned a lot from her.

I am also grateful to Anne Shlay for her passion for urban sociology and policy, as her enthusiasm greatly influenced my own. Anne consistently cheered me on through this process, and her encouraging words often echo in mind to make me smile and keep me motivated.

I appreciate the ways that David Elesh contributed insight into urban dynamics during this project. David gave me helpful feedback on this project throughout graduate school, for which I am grateful.

I am greatly indebted to Kathy Edin for the vast amount of opportunities she has afforded me throughout my graduate career. The research experience I gained from working with her has been invaluable. My interest in qualitative research grew tremendously from working with Kathy, as did my appreciation for the ability to learn from people. I appreciate Kathy's kindness to me, and her faith in my abilities.

I would also like to thank Dustin Kidd and Sherri Grasmuck for their input on this project during my coursework at Temple. I first started considering graduate school when Susan Clampet-Lundquist suggested it when commenting on a paper I wrote, and being able to work with her years after that has been a pleasure. Other research projects that I

have worked on developed my capacity as a researcher, and I thank Gretchen Wright for her support in those projects. I also appreciate the work of the entire Gautreaux Two research team and the generous respondents for sharing their stories.

My colleagues in graduate school are wonderful. I'm extremely grateful for my awesome cohort. Joanna Cohen, Jason Martin and John Balzarini have been excellent examples of a group of people working together and encouraging each other as we brave this world of grad school. I especially appreciate Joanna and Jason's friendship through this process. Other colleagues at Temple who have been especially supportive include Alyssa Richman, Corinne Castro and Ricky Moye – another great cohort. Kristin Turney has been both a colleague and friend, and I'm grateful to her for helping to keep me sane.

I am fortunate to have excellent friends, and I am grateful to all of them for their support during this process. Erin Jones and Serey Hoch are college friends who have turned into lifelong friends and been very encouraging as I progress through grad school. My Philly friends have made me thoroughly enjoy living here, and I'm grateful to VCC for being a supportive community. Lilian Nathania has been a lovely friend, roommate and fellow grad student. Rachael Sutliff is a dear friend and constant source of enthusiasm. Vernon Caldwell's belief in my abilities has provided much comfort and courage. Other friends I would like to particularly thank for their encouragement are Sarah Dorrell, Leo Nelson, Heather Hanson, Jason Peifer and Sonia Lee. For these friends, and all the others, I'm grateful.

Finally, I am grateful to have an incredible family. I appreciate the encouragement of all my grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins. I could not ask for a better brother

than Jon Boyd. My parents, Lee and Bonnie Boyd, are the absolute best. Throughout my life they have encouraged, supported, valued, and provided for me. Their unwavering support during graduate school has sustained me. My mom's gentleness, kindness and love enrich my life beyond measure. My dad's compassion for others and enthusiasm for this "expedition" I am on have meant the world to me. Thank you, mom and dad, for being who you are and for both shaping me and giving me freedom to be who I am. I dedicate this dissertation to you.

To my parents, Lee and Bonnie Boyd,  
I am who I am because you are who you are.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ABSTRACT.....	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
DEDICATION.....	vi
LIST OF TABLES.....	x
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xi
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW.....	1
Introduction.....	1
Literature Review.....	8
Social Ties and Space.....	8
Race, Class, and Gender.....	15
Neighborhood Effects and Youth.....	19
Housing Mobility Programs.....	24
Overview of the Dissertation.....	27
2. DATA AND METHODS.....	29
Introduction.....	29
Research Questions.....	29
Sample.....	30
Qualitative Data.....	33
Data Collection.....	34
Coding and Analysis.....	39
Quantitative Data.....	42
Neighborhood Data.....	42
School Data.....	43
Conclusion.....	44
3. PUBLIC HOUSING HISTORY AND GUATREAUX TWO OVERVIEW.....	47
Introduction.....	47
Public Housing History.....	47
Chicago.....	53
The Gautreaux Programs.....	59
Gautreaux Two Results Overview.....	64
Descriptive Summaries.....	66
Conclusion.....	70
4. MOTIVATIONS FOR MOVING.....	72

Beginning Narrative.....	72
Introduction.....	73
Crime and Safety.....	73
Unit Quality.....	79
Negative Social Ties.....	80
Role of Children in Mobility Decisions.....	83
Potential Effects of Moving.....	85
Schools.....	87
Reasons for Participation in Gautreaux.....	89
Obstacles to Moving.....	91
Conclusion.....	95
5. COMPLEXITY OF MOVING EXPERIENCES.....	97
Beginning Narrative.....	97
Introduction.....	98
Social Ties in Neighborhood Transitions.....	99
Social Isolation.....	99
Child-Care.....	104
Development of New Social Ties.....	105
Neighborhood Networks.....	107
Tradeoffs.....	108
Spatial Issues.....	109
Financial and Access Issues.....	112
Financial Concerns.....	112
Employment.....	115
Access to Social Services and Organizations.....	116
Landlord and Unit Issues.....	118
Youth Transitions.....	122
Children and Neighborhoods.....	122
Schools.....	124
Stayer and Secondary Mover Comparison.....	133
Conclusion.....	134
6. NEIGHBORHOOD RACIAL ISSUES.....	137
Beginning Narrative.....	137
Introduction.....	138
Program Requirements.....	140
Expectations of Living in a Diverse Neighborhood.....	144
Combining Expectations and Past Experience:	
Public Housing History.....	148
Experiences of Living in a Diverse Neighborhood.....	151
Adults.....	151
Children.....	152
Intersectionality of Race, Class and Gender.....	155
Schools.....	155
Neighborhoods.....	161

Conclusion.....	167
7. CONCLUSION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS.....	169
Introduction.....	169
Summary of Results.....	170
Overview.....	170
Motivations for Moving.....	172
Complexity of Moving Experiences.....	173
Neighborhood Racial Issues.....	175
Policy Implications.....	176
Limitations.....	182
Future Research.....	183
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	185
APPENDIX.....	205
A. ADULT INTERVIEW GUIDE.....	205

## LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Gautreaux Two Program Results and Qualitative Sampling.....	33
2. Move Status of Qualitative Sample.....	64
3. Comparison of Demographics and Neighborhood Level Characteristics of Stayers, Movers, and Non-Movers.....	67
4. Neighborhood Characteristics of Secondary Moves.....	69
5. Comparison of Experiences in Placement Neighborhoods between Secondary Movers and Stayers.....	133

## LIST OF FIGURES

Image	Page
1. The Robert Taylor Homes.....	56
2. Graffiti on Robert Taylor Homes Building.....	57
3. The Prior Location of Robert Taylor Homes.....	58
4. The Robert Taylor Homes After Demolition .....	58
5. Chicago Transportation Map.....	62
6. Northeastern Illinois 2000 Employment.....	63
7. Opportunity Areas and Public Housing Locations in Chicago.....	92

## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **Introduction**

This project focuses on the relationship between social ties and space, and analyzes the ways that race, class, and gender intersect in specific spatial contexts to shape access to opportunity and in turn influence families' neighborhood experiences. My goal is to contribute to the larger theoretical discussion of the relationship between social ties and space, to consider the ways that network effects specifically influence the lives of low-income women and youth, and to reflect on implications for policy regarding urban poverty more generally and low-income housing specifically.

One of the many challenges of urban poverty research is understanding the deeply entrenched nature of the inequalities that exist among neighborhoods and the effects that living in neighborhoods of concentrated poverty have on families. The fact that a disproportionate number of racial minorities, particularly blacks, reside in high-poverty neighborhoods points to the reality that a main factor influencing black concentrated poverty is racial residential segregation. Racial segregation is the primary residential pattern in cities in the United States, and it is particularly evident in the segregation of blacks from whites (Bobo and Zubrinsky 1996). The history of the United States is pervaded by racism and segregation, and an awareness of these historical realities is required to understand current patterns of racial residential segregation and to recognize the forces that maintain and exacerbate educational, occupational, and other institutional segregation and inequality (Bobo and Zubrinsky 1996; Massey and Denton 1993).

The continuing patterns of racial residential segregation are complicated, and are maintained by a combination of factors. Segregation is not a natural process; rather it is the result of various structural forces and discriminatory housing practices of governmental agencies, organizations, and individuals. Although the majority of blacks favor desegregation, the fact that segregation persists is evidence of the largely involuntary nature of the segregation of blacks (Massey and Denton 1993). For blacks, enduring barriers to residential mobility exist, and blacks' decisions about residential location are largely determined by external forces rather than simply by personal desires (Crowder 2001; Massey, Condran, and Denton 1987).

The literature on racial preferences paints a complex picture of the role that personal preferences play in neighborhood choices. Clark's (1991) work on racial preferences indicates that individual preferences for neighborhood racial composition do contribute to residential segregation. However, blacks and whites have different perceptions of acceptable racial composition levels, and the preferences of whites may influence changes in residential segregation more than the preferences of blacks. Charles (2005, 2000) finds that whites prefer a higher percentage of same-race neighbors, and blacks are more likely to prefer very diverse or somewhat diverse neighborhoods. Given the historical context of the constraints on neighborhood choice for families living in impoverished neighborhoods, policy responses include both community development in these neighborhoods as well as efforts to provide mobility options.

There have been many changes in housing policy in recent years, and there is much debate over the best ways to provide housing for low-income families - where families should be encouraged to move, what impact low-income housing has for

surrounding communities, etc. There is much theoretical and empirical work that considers the effects of living in neighborhoods of concentrated poverty, and there are a variety of policy approaches to ameliorating these neighborhood effects. Place-based initiatives attempt to bring resources to areas of concentrated poverty. Personal mobility programs develop the opportunities available to residents by improving access to jobs and other resources. Residential mobility programs provide families with access to affordable housing in areas where the opportunities are presumably better (HUD 1994). Thus, housing mobility programs take the approach of moving families out of areas of concentrated poverty to promote access to resources, typically providing subsidized housing vouchers to make relocation affordable for low-income families. The first housing mobility program, the Gautreaux program, was implemented in 1976 as the result of a residential segregation lawsuit in Chicago. Subsequent mobility programs expanded to include other local and national level designs.

The value of mobility programs is not unchallenged, and Imbroscio (2008) offers a recent critique of the idea that dispersing the urban poor into wealthier neighborhoods is a constructive policy solution. This critique, and others, argue that policy efforts should focus on making inner cities more livable rather than focus solely on relocation. Responses to these critiques, including Briggs (2008) and Goering and Feins (2008), contend that housing mobility programs are not an exclusive solution but should be part of a broader spectrum of policies that provide for both making inner cities more livable and giving families choices to move.

Along with the variety of viewpoints on the value of mobility programs is concern about the effectiveness of this type of housing policy. It is necessary to assess the extent

to which participants in mobility programs are actually able to gain access to the some of the benefits of living in more resourced neighborhoods and recognize the possibility that families may sometimes receive more support in their original neighborhoods. This may be due to a variety of factors, including the potential barriers of race, class, and gender that may inhibit the development of new ties and lead to feelings of isolation. Thus, it is crucial to understand the actual experiences of families who participate in mobility programs to inform policies that both seek to make inner cities more livable and give families choices to move. Recognizing the reasons why families choose to move out of impoverished inner city neighborhoods and reviewing the benefits that mobility program participants may gain from moving to more resourced neighborhoods can inform policies aimed at improving these neighborhoods in ways that would actually benefit residents who remain. Considering the stories of families who move to more resourced neighborhoods can also inform decisions about ways to improve the neighborhoods to which families are moving and encourage mobility programs to broaden their assistance in the process of transitioning to new neighborhoods for families who make the choice to move.

Specifically, this project assesses the different ways that social ties influence families' experiences in their neighborhoods by focusing on the types of neighborhoods families moved to as a result of the Gautreaux Two housing mobility program, which was implemented in Chicago in 2002. Like its predecessor, the original Gautreaux program which was implemented in 1976, the Gautreaux Two program gave low-income residents of Chicago public housing a voucher providing them with the opportunity to move to more advantaged neighborhoods. These vouchers had a set of special requirements: they

could only be used for units in census tracts with no more than 23.49 percent of residents living in poverty and no more than 30 percent black residents. Such neighborhoods were designated “opportunity areas.” After residing in these opportunity areas for one year, the families could either remain in their units or use their vouchers to move to any neighborhood they wanted, without the poverty and race restrictions. I use in-depth qualitative interview data that was collected by Northwestern University’s Institute for Policy Research (IPR) between 2002 and 2005 with a randomly chosen sample of adults and youth in 91 of the participant families. Four waves of adult interviews were conducted during the study, and the youth were interviewed once.

Of the 91 families included in the qualitative sample, 33 remained in their baseline neighborhood and did not move through the Gautreaux program. Families who did not move through the program were not provided with alternative mobility options through Gautreaux, although they could apply to other programs for which public housing residents are eligible. Twenty-seven moved to an opportunity area through the program and remained in that neighborhood for at least two years. Thirty-one families moved to an opportunity area and then made a secondary move to another neighborhood within two years of the original move. This analysis assesses the various factors that influenced this range of outcomes in order to understand the social processes involved.

The research questions I ask seek to understand the ways that social ties influence families’ experiences in their baseline and opportunity area neighborhoods and impact decisions about moving; how race, class, and gender relate to the importance of social ties and the creation of new ties, as well as how these processes vary by neighborhood;

how social ties vary for adults and youths; and what role youths play in families' mobility decisions.

Using these data, I analyze how social ties function to affect families' experiences in their neighborhoods and explore the ways that these social ties influenced their decisions about moving. I examine the accounts of both the adults and youths in the early stages of their transitions to new neighborhoods, and this is an important contribution to housing mobility research. Research on the outcomes of the original Gautreaux program and youths' outcomes in new neighborhoods was carried out years after the initial move took place and did not capture the process of adjusting to new neighborhoods (Briggs 1998). This analysis highlights these processes of adjusting.

Almost all of the adult participants in the sample are women, and the majority of them are single parents. This provides an opportunity to explore the components of neighborhood transitions that are especially significant for women who are heads of households. The racial residential segregation and neighborhood effects literatures largely ignore gender in their pictures of neighborhoods and the ways that neighborhoods influence families and individuals. However, a feminist urbanism perspective provides ways to consider the nuances of neighborhoods and social networks that are important to women by drawing attention to the unique experiences of women in urban spaces and the distinctive aspects of social ties for women. These include issues related to child-care, safety, social stigma, and the challenges of balancing work and family life.

Another contribution of this study is the emphasis on the role of youths in families' mobility decisions. Few studies capture the stories of both parents and youths in

the same family, but this project considers the family as a unit by analyzing interview data from parents and their children. The adults were interviewed four times during the course of the study, at approximately eight-month intervals. This allows me to analyze the role of youths in parents' decisions about moving over several years, and in many cases, several different mobility decisions. The youths were interviewed once at the end of the study, which adds an additional perspective and a firsthand account of the impact of mobility decisions on youths themselves.

One of the goals of this project is to use the stories of the adults and youths to inform ideas about what policies could improve families' neighborhood experiences. One avenue for this is to understand the motivations families had for desiring to move out of public housing in order to consider what policies and programs could improve the neighborhoods for people who remain in high-poverty areas. Exploring the reasons why families who did move but were not able to remain in their opportunity area neighborhoods provides important information about what other support services need to be implemented to assist movers in their transitions to new neighborhoods. Most housing mobility programs provide some level of support for participants in the initial moving process, then cease support and assume that the family will thrive now that they are located in a safer and wealthier neighborhood. However, the transition is not this simple, and it is important to analyze the factors that influence families' abilities to remain in these "better" neighborhoods in order to provide further support beyond placement (Boyd 2008; Boyd et al. 2010). This analysis provides insight about policy implications for the success of mobility programs, including the need for continued program assistance to build and maintain strong social networks beyond the initial placement.

This project focuses on the intersection of race, class, and gender in urban areas and seeks to broaden the existing understanding of social networks by considering the ways social networks work in this unique population. The goal is to develop a more complex view of social networks and a better understanding of how, when, and in what situations social networks matter to both adults and youths. I consider issues of economic and racial residential segregation by intertwining a sociological perspective with a focus on the historical processes that shape urban life, feminist urbanism perspectives that draw particular attention to the unique experiences of women in urban space, and public policy that attempts to address various social issues surrounding housing and opportunity. The literature review frames my approach to this. Throughout the literature review I address the research on residential segregation and neighborhood effects as it relates to this project specifically. First, I discuss the literature on social ties and space, then the ways that race, class and gender matter. I then examine the neighborhood effects research as it relates to youth specifically. Finally, I briefly address research related to housing mobility programs, though this is examined in more detail in Chapter 3.

## **Literature Review**

### *Social Ties and Space*

Community studies literature illustrates how social systems influence interpersonal relationships and the ways that space and social networks are interrelated and reinforce each other (Piselli 2007; Wellman 1999, 1979). As Piselli (2007) argues, it is necessary to use a network analytic perspective when engaging in community studies in order to capture the full range of what comprises a community. The concept of a

community is not simply a spatial location, but a “network of meaningful social relations with friends, neighbors, relatives and work colleagues who do not necessarily belong to the same residential unit” (Piselli 2007:867). Rather than minimizing the significance of spatial location, a network perspective analyzes the intersections of the spatial and social dimensions of a community and the ways that social systems influence social interaction (Wellman 1999, 1979).

In his seminal theoretical work, Bourdieu (1986) argues that conceptualizing capital is crucial to understanding the structure and relations of society. He distinguishes between three different types of capital: economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital. Economic capital refers to possession of economic resources; cultural capital includes knowledge, skills and education that can elevate an individual’s social mobility; and social capital consists of resources based on relationships and social networks.

Social capital can be measured by the quantity and quality of social relationships (Coleman 1988), and the ways that the strength of these relationships contribute to status attainment (Lin 1999). While there are a variety of facets of social capital, a primary aspect is the resources that are accessed through social networks, and this access is dependent on one’s position in the social hierarchy (Lin 1999). Coleman (1990:302) argues that social capital should not be viewed as existing within individuals themselves but “in the structure of social organization.” Thus, understanding social capital requires discussion of variations in access to different types of social organization. Access to social capital varies by race, class, and gender, and it is important to understand how these factors influence the experiences and opportunities available to adults and youths. The social capital of youths can be considered in terms of family-based and community-

based social capital (Furstenberg and Hughes 1995), which points to the necessity of understanding how community-based social capital is accessed by youths in their neighborhoods.

Researchers recognize that there are spatial variations in social networks, which are key ways to access social capital and opportunities (Temkin and Rohe 1998). As Sampson, Morenoff, and Earls (1999) argue, spatial dynamics affect youths in ways that supersede the structural characteristics of a neighborhood. Low-income women in urban areas face particular challenges in accessing social capital, a reality that feminist urbanism, which concentrates on the unique experiences of women in urban spaces, can shed light on.

In order to analyze the structural conditions that mediate access to opportunities for economic and social mobility, it is important to recognize the crucial role that space plays in this process. Space has developed into a focus of serious academic examination in recent decades (Lefebvre 1991). Many researchers highlight the spatiality of inequality and the need to recognize space and place as powerful mechanisms in shaping metropolitan inequality and structuring access to opportunity (Dreier, Mollenkopf and Swanstrom 2004; Gans 2002; Gieryn 2002; Shlay 1993; Zukin 2002). Although researchers take somewhat different approaches to the roles of space and place, this debate highlights the significance of recognizing that space is connected to power, and in turn shapes people's lives. As Gieryn (2002) argues, the power of place is evidenced by racial segregation, while Dreier, Mollenkopf and Swanstrom (2004) equate the power of place with economic segregation.

Place impacts the quality of people's lives by structuring their access to opportunities (Howell-Moroney 2005). As Shlay (1993) emphasizes, large and powerful institutions shape urban space, and any discussion about the nature of economic and racial segregation therefore requires an awareness of the ways that historical processes and institutions created and maintain spatial inequality. The power of space in shaping access to opportunities is particularly evident in racial and class-based segregation, which overlaps with the changing economic structures of cities and trends in metropolitan development. Given the broad discussion about the fact that "place matters" and that where one lives influences the quality of his or her life (Dreier, Mollenkopf and Swanstrom 2004), it is important to consider the actual processes by which the power of space works, particularly in segregated neighborhoods of concentrated poverty.

Researchers point to the negative effect that living in neighborhoods of concentrated poverty and high crime rates may have on individual outcomes for both adults and children, and there are various mechanisms by which these negative effects can occur. Galster and Killen (1995) discuss neighborhoods as "opportunity structures" which consist of systems, networks and institutions that result in social advancement outcomes. Therefore, there are spatial variations in systems providing opportunity for upward mobility, and neighborhoods of concentrated poverty can limit one's interaction with structures and networks that help one to get ahead. There are various mechanisms that may transmit neighborhood-level characteristics to individual outcomes, and social networks are a primary source of transmission (Briggs 1997; Ellen and Turner 1997; Mendenhall 2005b).

There are several ways that social networks can provide social capital for individuals, and they are often not complementary (Lin 2001b). Briggs (1998) identifies two dimensions of social capital: social support and social leverage, and he would classify strong local social ties as social support - the type of social capital that helps one to “get by” and cope with one’s circumstances. This type of social capital is particularly important for the poor and involves having locally based, homogenous social ties, and research emphasizes the ways that these social networks are particularly important for women in low-income black communities (Dyck 1996; Edin and Lein 1997; Stack 1974). Social leverage, on the other hand, is having access to more diverse ties that enhance one’s opportunities and help one “get ahead” (Briggs 1998). The fact that these ties are typically weaker than local ties allows for networks to be built across groups rather than just within, providing a wider range of opportunities (Granovetter 1973). Lin (2001a) describes social capital as consisting of expressive and instrumental relationships. Expressive relationships result in symbolic resources of shared connection and mutuality, similar to Briggs’ (1998) concept of social support. Instrumental relationships, on the other hand, result in gaining added material resources, similar to what Briggs (1998) defines as social leverage. Research on neighborhood effects recognizes that these social leverage networks, or instrumental relationships, are difficult to develop in disadvantaged segregated neighborhoods.

The practical impact of having restricted access to social leverage networks influences a variety of facets of one’s life. Wilson (1987) refers to the effects of living in socially disadvantaged neighborhoods as “concentration effects” and highlights access to jobs, availability of marriageable partners, and exposure to conventional role models as

some of the primary opportunities that are constrained by living in such neighborhoods. Neighborhood effects are easily observed in access to employment opportunities. Living closer to job opportunities is associated with a higher probability of working and leaving welfare (Allard and Danzinger 2003; Ellen and Turner 1997), but the changing economic structures of cities over the past century has made employment in the inner-city hard to come by, especially for blacks (Adams et al. 1991). Wilson (1996, 1987) focuses on the joblessness of urban ghettos and the consequential problems associated with lack of jobs. Wilson points out that segregated ghettos are not conducive to either employment or preparation for employment and argues that the wide range of problems common in inner-cities are a result of the disappearance of work in inner-city ghettos.

Positive effects are presumed to follow movement to more affluent neighborhoods with greater racial diversity. While previous research does not consistently find benefits to living in affluent neighborhoods, there is some evidence that neighborhoods can confer both advantages and disadvantages to residents, particularly youths (Newman and Schnare 1997). Youths' neighborhoods are related to their cognitive development, and youths living in affluent areas are surrounded by greater resources and more enrichment opportunities (Brooks-Gunn et al. 1997). Schools are another important component of how neighborhoods affect youths' outcomes, although this is a complicated process as not all students switch schools when moving to new neighborhoods (DeLuca and Rosenblatt 2010). The outcomes for adults and youths may be related to the quality and availability of services in their neighborhoods, or of jobs, as living closer to job opportunities is associated with a higher probability of working (Allard and Danzinger 2003; Ellen and Turner 1997).

Housing mobility programs make the presumption that individuals and families who live in segregated urban areas are more disadvantaged than those living in more resource-rich areas and assume that moving to safer and wealthier neighborhoods will result in a better quality of life and increased life chances. The development and maintenance of social networks is a significant focus of housing mobility program research (Briggs 1997; Clampet-Lundquist 2004; Mendenhall 2005b). Clampet-Lundquist (2004) shows that while policy makers assume that children and adults who move through mobility programs will create the kind of social ties in their new neighborhoods that will allow them to become more economically independent, this does not always happen. Briggs (1997) offers a critique of these assumptions and reminds researchers and policy-makers that moving low-income families into affluent neighborhoods does not automatically result in positive effects for these families, as there are challenges to creating connections in the new neighborhoods and to benefiting from the resources of those neighborhoods. Forming social ties in the new neighborhoods is not an easy process, as social ties take time to develop (Clampet-Lundquist 2004). Chung and Steinberg (2006) conceptualize neighborhoods factors as consisting of neighborhood structure (sociodemographic characteristics of a neighborhood), and neighborhood social processes (the social connections of neighbors). Thus, families may move to a neighborhood with positive and potentially beneficial neighborhood structures, but the social processes often necessary to benefiting from that structure may not be present.

People in low-income areas tend to use local social ties, and make ties with others who are very similar to themselves (Clampet-Lundquist 2004; Briggs 1997; Gilbert 1998). They are also less likely to belong to neighborhood organizations, where social

ties can be developed, than those living in high-income areas (Stoll 2001). One of the goals of mobility programs is to relocate such families to areas where they can form more diverse social ties with people who are different from them in terms of resources and networks. These ties, in turn, should lead to more diverse information sources and provide access to opportunities about which families would otherwise not have known (Granovetter 1973). However, as Clampet-Lundquist's (2004) research suggests, such families may not have the resources to utilize the newly available ties in a way that improves their situation (see also Kleit 2001). Combined with neighborhood variation, race, class, and gender may influence this process of accessing social ties.

### *Race, Class, and Gender*

Barriers of race, class, and gender can inhibit the creation of diverse networks (Mendenhall 2005b; Kissane and Clampet-Lundquist 2005). A basic way these barriers operate is influencing families' housing searches. As Turner and Ross (2005) show, racial discrimination is still very much present in the housing search process. However, these barriers extend far beyond the initial hurdle of securing housing. As Briggs (1998:187) argues, the "effects of housing mobility programs on social networks and by extension social capital, should depend not only on physical proximity but also on race, class and other factors that are known to affect neighboring and friendship building." For example, in her analysis of the original Gautreaux program, Mendenhall (2005b) found that for the women who participated in the program, the development of networks and social capital was negatively influenced by the social distance created by race, class, and gender differences between the women and their neighbors. These barriers are examples of negative or exclusionary social capital, meaning that social capital can have negative

consequences when it excludes outsiders who are not able to benefit from the social relations that contribute to a sense of support and cooperation among a community (Portes 1998; Waldinger 1995). Thus, while social networks can be primary sources of integration, because they are socially selective they can also serve to create barriers of exclusion (Briggs 1998; Piselli 2007).

Gordon Allport's contact theory argues that prejudice "may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals" (1954:281). This concept of equal status contact is important, as families who moved through Gautreaux Two had to move to neighborhoods with different racial and class compositions than their original neighborhoods and did not have "equal status" in terms of race and class as many of their neighbors. Thus, low-income black families face both race and class barriers when moving to predominantly white, wealthier neighborhoods (Kissane and Clampet-Lundquist 2005). These barriers may also be conceptualized as differences in economic and cultural capital. Low-income families possess less economic capital than wealthier neighbors, and living in public housing may equip residents with very different cultural capital than that of middle-class families living in the suburbs. Thus, when families move out of public housing to suburban neighborhoods, these differences in the levels and types of economic and cultural capital can create barriers. These barriers are exacerbated by gender, as low-income black single mothers often face social stigma and gender discrimination (Mendenhall 2005b).

Recognizing the influence of gender in shaping neighborhood experiences points to the importance of understanding the gendered nature of space, social ties, and community participation. As feminist urbanism theory highlights, women experience

urban spaces in a unique way because of the typical family responsibilities that shape their life, and these experiences relate to the ways in which women utilize social networks (Deutsch 2000; Domosh 1998; England 1996; Hayden 1981; Jacobs 1961; McDowell 1993; Wylie 1999; Massey 1994). Women's social networks are more likely to involve spatially local kin connections than men's are (Gilbert 1998; Shlay and DiGregorio 1985; Stack 1974). These social networks are central to women's accomplishment of their family responsibilities and caretaking duties in ways that are typically not as crucial for men's networks.

A primary form of family responsibility is child-care, and child-care is often a salient issue for women, particularly for women who are working. Child-care access is place-based, and employed mothers of young children often have trouble finding affordable, quality child-care in their neighborhoods. This leads many mothers to develop informal solutions to child-care that often involve their social networks. Therefore, these social networks serve to ameliorate some of the difficulties that women face, particularly low-income black women (Dyck 1996; Sarkisian and Gerstel 2004). Another family responsibility is elder care. Women are typically the primary caregivers for elderly parents or ill family members, resulting in more time constraints, especially for employed women (Spain 2002). These family responsibilities are made more challenging by the fact that women often are limited by poor public transportation, which results in difficulty in a variety of spheres of women's lives (England 1996; Shlay and DiGregorio 1985). The layout of public transportation in metropolitan areas is important and affects multiple aspects of urban life, particularly as it relates to job distribution (Adams et al. 2008, 1991). I address transportation issues further in Chapter 3.

Literature on social networks highlights kin networks as key ways to access social capital and opportunities (Lin 1999). Women's social networks are typically kin and neighbor oriented, and women with families often want to live near their friends, family, and relatives (Gilbert 1998; Shlay and DiGregorio 1985; Stack 1974). Race intersects with class and gender to shape women's "spatial rootedness" – their social networks and survival strategies (Gilbert 1998). The personal networks of black and white women are different, and black women living in low-income, inner-city areas have the most intensive local ties; they are not spatially diverse (Gilbert 1998; Sarkisian and Gerstel 2004). McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook (2001) use the term homophily to describe these social networks that are homogenous in sociodemographic, behavioral, and intrapersonal characteristics, and they argue that homophily limits people's interactions and information. Using Briggs' (1998) distinction between social support and social leverage, women in low-income black communities receive crucial social support from their kin networks, but do not gain much social leverage. This lack of access to social leverage in these communities is related to the concentration of poverty among black communities in segregated, inner-city neighborhoods and the racist structures both past and present in our society. Church and family networks are especially central in the lives of many blacks due to the fact that both these institutions have historically helped relieve the pressures of living in a racist society (Gilbert 1998).

Thus, social networks, specifically kin networks, are crucial in low-income black communities, particularly for women, and especially for child-care (Edin and Lein 1997; Sarkisian and Gerstel 2004; Stack 1974). The prevalence of single female-headed households in the U.S. is growing, and these families are disproportionately found in low-

income black communities (Edin and Kefalas 2005). Because female-headed families are particularly economically vulnerable, scholars document the increasing “feminization of poverty” and discuss various ways that such families adapt to their often difficult economic circumstances in communities in which there is a lack of employed men (Edin and Kefalas 2005). Among women who have low levels of education, those who live in high-poverty areas use informal contacts such as family, friends, and neighbors more than those living in low poverty areas, pointing to the crucial role of social networks in these communities (Elliot 1999).

### *Neighborhood Effects and Youth*

It is important to consider the family as a unit when examining neighborhood experiences and the narratives of youths are an integral part of this. The evidence that neighborhoods can confer both advantages and disadvantages to residents is particularly evident in the lives of children and youth (Newman and Schnare 1997). Ellen and Turner (1997) argue that the potential impact of the neighborhood environment on individual outcomes is most evident during adolescence, as children spend an increased amount of time with their peers rather than their immediate families. The effects of living in disadvantaged neighborhoods on children and youth’s individual outcomes exist beyond family and individual level variables and living in disadvantaged neighborhoods influences a wide variety of outcomes, though scholars find varying degrees of neighborhood influence (Brooks-Gunn and Paikoff 1993; Case and Katz 1991; Crane 1991; Ellen and Turner 1997; Elliot et al. 1996; Jencks and Mayer 1990; Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn 2000; Mayer and Jencks 1989). Children’s neighborhoods are related to their cognitive development, and children living in affluent areas are surrounded by

greater resources and more enrichment opportunities than those living in disadvantaged neighborhoods (Brooks-Gunn et al. 1997). Case and Katz (1991) show that residing in a neighborhood with high rates of juvenile crime is associated with an increase in an individual's likelihood of being involved in a crime, and they also find neighborhood peer effects on substance use and the likelihood of dropping out of school. Having neighbors of low socioeconomic status has a negative effect on children's and adolescent's mental health (Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn 2000).

The context of one's neighborhood can affect various aspects of youths' ambitions, including educational, occupation, and family expectations and outcomes (Boyd and Goyette 2010). Especially among poor youths in neighborhoods of concentrated disadvantage, many factors can intervene that shape eventual family formation outcomes, despite a youth's aspirations and expectations for family formation (Edin and Kefalas 2005). For teenage females, living in high-poverty neighborhoods increases the risk of adolescent and non-marital childbearing (Brooks-Gunn et al. 1997; Brooks-Gunn and Paikoff 1993; Crane 1991; Gephart 1997; Hogan and Kitagawa 1985; Jencks and Mayer 1990; Massey, Gross and Eggers 1991). Neighborhood effects on non-marital childbearing may be especially influential for black females living in inner-cities (Crane 1991). Thus, individual family formation outcomes are not simply the result of individual expectations but are influenced by neighborhood level factors as well.

The most compelling evidence of neighborhood effects on outcomes for adolescents is for educational outcomes (Ellen and Turner 1997). Census tract level characteristics influence students' academic achievement beyond family level characteristics, and researchers find neighborhood effects in youths' likelihood of being

in school and being employed (Case and Katz 1991; Mayer and Jencks 1989; Spencer et al. 1997). Higher neighborhood drop-out and poverty rates are associated with a reduced probability of youths graduating from high school (Aaronson 1998, 1997). The rates of joblessness in one's neighborhood and the perception youths have of the opportunities for work influence youths' desire to stay in school (Connell and Halpern-Felsher 1997; Duncan 1994; Wilson 1987). Census tract level poverty is associated with male joblessness for youths and young adults, and neighborhood peers without jobs influence youths to themselves be less likely to work (Case and Katz 1991; Gephart 1997; Massey, Gross and Eggers 1991). Neighborhood socioeconomic status is positively associated with childhood IQ and various measures of adolescents' academic achievement (Brooks-Gunn et al. 1993; Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn 2000).

Given the research on neighborhood effects on youth, we should consider the influence of social networks in outcomes for youth as with adults. While much of the social ties research focuses on the impact of social ties for adults, it is also important to understand the ways that peer networks function for youth. Various youth outcomes including academic achievement, deviant behavior, and psychosocial development are related to the influence of peers, and interactions with peers are largely mediated through one's neighborhood (Fletcher et al. 1995; Lamborn, Dornbusch and Steinberg, 1996; Mounts and Steinberg 1995). Thus, peers are an important way that neighborhood effects are transmitted to youths, as are interactions with adult role models in the community (Clampet-Lundquist et al. forthcoming; Sampson, Raudenbush and Earls 1997; Sampson, Morenoff and Gannon-Rowley 2002). When considering the experiences of youths who transition into new neighborhoods, we should take into account the impact of both the

loss of familiar networks in the old neighborhood and the difficulty of creating additional networks in the new neighborhood.

Galster and Killen (1995) argue that youths' decision-making processes are shaped by their local social network. Local social ties can result in both pro- and antisocial influences on youth (Chung and Steinberg 2006). For example, Houseknecht and Lewis (2005) found that community ties have an effect net of the effects of primary family ties in the outcome of non-marital birth rates among girls. The influence of local social ties on youth should be considered in terms of the extent of interaction that youth have with others in their neighborhood. Thus, it is not sufficient to assess the characteristics of a neighborhood and their potential impact on youths without considering how involved youths are with others in that neighborhood.

The transitions that youths face when moving to a new neighborhood and the pathways to developing new social ties are complicated, as it is for adults. Social network disruption for youths can cause various types of psychological distress, though these effects may be mediated by the extent of development of new social ties (Perry 2006). Minority youth, particular black and Latino youth, may have difficulty establishing social ties in their new neighborhoods, as they must traverse racial and class differences (Briggs 1998). An analysis of the residential outcomes of the youth of the original Gautreaux program found that the socioeconomic distance between the Gautreaux youth and their new neighbors was a barrier to developing social ties and integrating into the neighborhood, so much so that the youths were less able to benefit from the structural and social resources of their new neighborhoods (Keels 2008b).

Schools are a primary aspect of neighborhood transitions for youths. The experience of switching schools when moving to a new neighborhood and the subsequent interactions with peers and teachers in these new schools can be affected by the quality of education received and the social environment in a youth's previous school (Kling, Liebman and Katz 2007). Also, not all youth switch schools when moving to a new neighborhood, and this can limit the extent to which youths develop new social ties (DeLuca and Rosenblatt 2010).

Previous researches have largely failed to consider the extent to which youths' experiences in neighborhoods and schools are factors in decisions that parents make about neighborhood quality. As Briggs (1998) argues, one challenge of research on neighborhood transition is to understand whether and how adults consider the social resources available to them in prospective new neighborhoods, and the weight given to their children's adjustment in this process. Decision-making may vary according to each parents' strategy to "expose or insulate" children to risk (Briggs 1998:185). Clampet-Lundquist (2004) conceptualizes the action of selecting a neighborhood as part of the process of managing a family, particularly when the children's experiences are largely tied to their neighborhood, as is more so the case for low-income children. Keels' (2008a) analysis of the original Gautreaux program found that attempting to insulate children from gangs and crime was an important motivating factor for parents choosing to move through the program, particularly for parents with sons.

Both age and gender play roles in youths' experiences in neighborhoods. Keels' (2008a) research on the original Gautreaux program found that youths who moved to Gautreaux neighborhoods at younger ages had more favorable outcomes. These youths

had less difficulty adjusting to the new neighborhoods and schools, and less interaction with peers and institutions in the old neighborhoods than the older youths did. On the other hand, older youths maintained stronger ties with their kin and peer networks in their old neighborhood, resulting in less involvement in the new neighborhood. Recent analyses of the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) program, a federal housing mobility program implemented in the 1990's in five U.S. cities, also finds evidence to suggest that there are gender differences in youths' adjustment to new neighborhoods. Researchers find that moving from public housing to low-poverty neighborhoods resulted in mental health, physical health and educational benefits for girls, while boys often experienced adverse effects in these areas. Girls had lower risk behaviors than boys who were placed in similar neighborhoods and were better able to adapt and integrate into the new peers and schools (Clampet-Lundquist et al. forthcoming; Kling, Liebman and Katz 2007).

### *Housing Mobility Programs*

Housing mobility programs play a large role in public policy efforts to address issues of residential segregation. The first housing mobility program in the U.S. was the Gautreaux program in Chicago. In 1976, a U.S. Supreme Court decision championed the cause of a Chicago public housing tenant, Dorothy Gautreaux, and over 40,000 other black tenants of the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) (Keels et al. 2005). A decade earlier, the tenants had brought a class action suit against the CHA and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) for discriminating on the basis

of race by engaging in “systematic and illegal segregation”—that is, the policy of placing public housing in predominately black neighborhoods (Keels et al. 2005).<sup>1</sup>

The court’s remedy, the Gautreaux Housing Mobility Program, has become one of the nation’s largest housing desegregation efforts, with over 7,100 families moving to more affluent neighborhoods in mixed-race or white suburban and city neighborhoods between 1976 and 1998 (Rubinowitz and Rosenbaum 2001). A variety of current federal housing policies are now based on the notion that families in need of housing assistance should not be placed in segregated neighborhoods, though most of these policies center on economic segregation rather than segregation by race (Popkin et al. 2004).

The original Gautreaux program had a long-term impact on the residential locations of participants, as most families maintained their neighborhood affluence and, to a somewhat lesser extent, racial composition of their placement neighborhood over time (Keels et al. 2005). This was somewhat surprising, since after one year the vouchers could be used to rent an apartment in any neighborhood, not just predominantly non-poor, non-black “opportunity areas” as designated by Gautreaux. When researchers initially compared suburban Gautreaux movers to others who instead moved to more disadvantaged city neighborhoods, the employment, education, and health of suburban movers and their children was superior to that of those who moved to city neighborhoods (Rosenbaum and DeLuca 2000; Rosenbaum, DeLuca and Tuck 2005; Rubinowitz and Rosenbaum 2001), although a longer-run follow-up of the adult earnings of these children failed to show significant city/suburb differences (Keels 2008a; Keels 2008b;

---

<sup>1</sup> Some of these individuals were on a waiting list for a unit in a Chicago public housing project.

Keels et al. 2005). Moreover, Mendenhall, DeLuca, and Duncan's (2006) research suggests it that may not be the suburban/city distinction that matters, but rather the combination of racial composition and resources in the placement neighborhoods.<sup>2</sup>

The Gautreaux Two program is important to analyze because the original Gautreaux program was so successful that it has been used as a model for other housing mobility programs. In 2001, the CHA offered the Gautreaux Two program, via a letter enclosed with their monthly rental amount statement, to families living in distressed public housing developments, most of which were slated for demolition. Enrollees were required to attend a group orientation session plus one-on-one counseling sessions to discuss the key aspect of the program – using their Gautreaux Two voucher to move to an “opportunity area,” defined as a census tract that was less than 23.49% poor and 30% black (Keels et al. 2005). The only inducement offered was a chance to participate in the program. In Gautreaux One, program staff made special efforts to ensure that the moves were to suburban locales, while Gautreaux Two put less emphasis on the suburbs, in part because many areas of the city of Chicago had gentrified. Perhaps because of this, Gautreaux One placement neighborhoods had an average poverty rate of only 5 percent, substantially less than the mean for Gautreaux Two placement neighborhoods, which averaged 13 percent in this sample (Keels et al. 2005). However, Gautreaux Two has not

---

<sup>2</sup> Although Gautreaux counselors strove to place families in low-poverty, racially-integrated neighborhoods, there were periods during its operation when it was very difficult to find housing in neighborhoods that met these criteria. In response, the program adjusted its definition of qualifying destinations to include neighborhoods that were quite poor and segregated but were judged to be improving. This practice began in 1981. While the program did not intend for these families to move to very segregated, high poverty neighborhoods, Census-based analysis shows that some did (Mendenhall, DeLuca and Duncan 2006). About one-fifth of *Gautreaux* families were placed in high-poverty, highly segregated neighborhoods, almost all of which were within the city limits of Chicago.

been as successful, as most families quickly moved on from their placement neighborhoods to neighborhoods that are quite poor and very racially segregated. Subsequent mobility from low-poverty neighborhoods back to poorer neighborhoods seriously undermines the impact that housing mobility initiatives can have on individual outcomes. Another large housing mobility demonstration, Moving to Opportunity (MTO), had similar issues of subsequent mobility, as most families who moved out of public housing and into low-poverty neighborhoods moved back to poorer neighborhoods over time (Briggs, Comey, and Weisman 2010; Clampet-Lundquist and Massey 2008; Orr et al. 2003).

### **Overview of the Dissertation**

This chapter described the theoretical framework of my dissertation by addressing the relevant literature, and introducing the specific focus of the study. In the next chapter, I describe the methodological approach, including data collection and coding strategies. In Chapter 3, I summarize the history of low-income housing policy in the United States as well as some of the primary programs that have been implemented in recent decades. I describe the context of Chicago as the site for this research, and provide an overview of the results of the Gautreaux Two program. In Chapters 4, 5 and 6 I develop the empirical analysis. I think it is important to recognize that social processes are not linear. Instead, experiences and viewpoints may vary over time and in different contexts. Thus, in the empirical chapters I analyze themes multiple times to contextualize respondents' narratives. In Chapter 4, I describe respondents' motivations for moving out of public housing. In Chapter 5, I focus on the complicated experiences that respondents had in new neighborhoods, and describe the various processes that influenced these experiences

as well as subsequent mobility decisions. Chapter 6 addresses the role of race in families' neighborhood transition stories. Finally, Chapter 7 addresses the policy implications of this research.

## **CHAPTER 2: DATA AND METHODS**

### **Introduction**

In this chapter, I describe the research methodology. I present a list of the research questions that shaped the project, and a detailed description of the sample from which data were collected. I describe the methods I used in collecting, managing, coding, analyzing and presenting data. I primarily use qualitative data, with some quantitative descriptive data for further context. The bulk of my data comes from semi-structured in-depth interviews that were conducted from 2002-2005 with participants in the Gautreaux Two housing mobility program. I also use contextual data from the 2000 U.S. Census and 2002-2003 data from the Common Core of Data, a national education data resource. Finally, I address the issue of applying criteria in qualitative research and discuss the ways that I built soundness into my research methodology.

### **Research Questions**

In Chapter 1, I introduced my overall research questions, which relate to understanding the ways that social ties influence families' transitions to new neighborhoods and their decisions about making subsequent moves. More specifically, I ask the following questions:

- What aspects of baseline neighborhood social ties were important to families?
  - In what ways does the public housing history of a family affect the strength of these ties?
- How much do proximity and access to these social ties influence families' decisions to move back closer to their baseline neighborhoods?
- What aspects of the opportunity areas inhibit the creation of new social ties?
- In what ways is the development of new social ties facilitated?
  - How do formal institutions and networks in both the neighborhood and school facilitate this process?
- How do race, gender, and class affect these processes?
- How do these processes vary for adults and youths?

- How do the experiences of the youths influence moving decisions?

In the rest of this chapter, I describe my methodological approach to answering these research questions.

### **Sample**

In Chapter 3, I provide detailed background about the context of Chicago during the implementation of the Gautreaux Two program. For now, I will focus on the details of how the program was executed as it relates to the data collection. In 2001, the Chicago Housing Authority contracted with the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities in Chicago to implement a second round of the Gautreaux residential mobility program, called Gautreaux Two. The Leadership Council was one of the oldest and largest fair housing organizations in the United States, although it ceased operations in 2006, shortly after the Gautreaux Two program ended.

In October of 2001, the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) sent letters inviting all tenants to participate in the Gautreaux Two program. A total of 549 families attended orientation sessions conducted by the Leadership Council, and those who completed the required follow-up activities received a Housing Choice Voucher, which is the federal housing voucher program for low-income families. The data I use were collected by a team of researchers lead by the Primary Investigators Kathryn Edin, Greg Duncan, and James Rosenbaum at Northwestern University's Institute for Policy Research (IPR). These researchers and their team observed all of the Gautreaux Two program orientation sessions and conducted interviews with a sample of the participants between 2002 and 2005. I joined the research team in 2005.

The research team observed 90 percent of the 46 orientation sessions that the Leadership Council conducted beginning in 2002. In addition, the team attended weekly Leadership Council staff meetings and had one-on-one conversations with program staff. These connections provided access for recruiting program participants to participate in the qualitative sample.

Project funding allowed for in-depth repeated interviews to be conducted with roughly 90 Gautreaux Two participants. Gautreaux Two participants were the leaseholder of the household. To recruit this sample, the research team first enlisted a randomly selected 20 percent of all Gautreaux Two clients who met the program requirements, attended one of the orientation sessions held between May and October of 2002, went to a one-on-one session with a program official, and completed all program paperwork. Four hundred and fifty participants completed these requirements at the time the sample was drawn, yielding an initial sampled group of eighty-four families. To compensate for the initially low take-up of the program (fewer used their voucher to move than was anticipated), the team drew a second sample of 23 program enrollees who appeared likely to move as part of the program for a total of 107 families.<sup>3</sup>

Likely movers were drawn from the Leadership Council's Transmittal List, which consisted of families who had already located units and begun the inspection/moving process. Out of all the Gautreaux Two participants who completed orientation sessions,

---

<sup>3</sup> Of the total respondent pool, 78 percent (n=84) of the families were drawn from a random sample of program participants. As program take-up proceeded at a slower rate than anticipated, and it appeared that take-up would be less than 50 percent, the team recruited an additional 23 respondents (22% of sample pool) from a list of "likely movers," that is, participants who already had selected a unit and secured a verbal agreement with the landlord. Pashup et al. (2005) describe some of the difficulties participants faced in moving through the Gautreaux program. These difficulties included both external (tight rental market, landlord discrimination against housing vouchers, family size, and bureaucratic delays) and internal (little exposure to life outside of Chicago's south side, poor understanding of program requirements, large household size, and mental or physical health problems) factors.

only about one-third moved through the program. However, about two-thirds of the qualitative sample moved. This is probably due to the fact that part of the sample consisted of likely movers, as well as the potential support and encouragement that may have resulted from multiple interactions with the research team.

Baseline interviews were completed with 91 adults, yielding an 85 percent response rate. Second round in-depth interviews were completed with 86 of the 91 adults (95 percent retention), over 60 percent of whom had moved by that time. In the third wave, the team interviewed 81 adults (94 percent retention rate). In the fourth and final interview, 80 adults were interviewed (99 percent retention rate). Starting in 2004, data were collected from 93 (out of 110 eligible) children in 57 of the families. If families had children ages 11 to 19 living in the home, up to 3 eligible children were randomly selected to be interviewed. The plan was to interview approximately 100 youth from 57 households in the qualitative sample (the other households do not contain appropriately aged youth). In all, 110 youth were eligible to be interviewed in these households and 93 consented and completed an interview, which is an 85 percent response rate. The total amount of interviews completed, including adults and youth, is 431. Table 1 shows the results of the adult sampling and interviewing stages.

<b>Table 1. Gautreaux Two Program Results and Qualitative Sampling</b>	
Total participants who attended orientation sessions	549
Total participants who completed program requirements	450
Sampled random participants	84
Sampled likely movers	23
Total selected sample	107
Participants completing wave 1 interview	91
Wave 1 response rate	85%
Participants completing wave 2 interview	86
Wave 2 retention rate	95%
Participants completing wave 3 interview	81
Wave 3 retention rate	94%
Participants completing wave 4 interview	80
Wave 4 retention rate	99%
Sampled participants who moved through Gautreaux Two	58

The high rate of response probably resulted from the fact that the interviewers engendered trust by meeting the clients in person at the orientation and describing the study to each prospective participant, and because the interviewers offered a financial compensation for each of the four interviews. Adult participants were paid 40 dollars for each of the first two interviews, and 60 dollars for each of the last two interviews, totaling a possible compensation of 200 dollars for each participant.

Ninety-nine percent of respondents were female, with only one male respondent in the sample. Ninety-six percent of respondents were black, and four percent were migrants from the Caribbean, both U.S. (Puerto Rico) and foreign born. The average age of adult respondents at baseline was 30 years, and at baseline respondents had lived in their current housing development for an average of 8.5 years. The average household size was four, the majority of whom were children, apart from the leaseholder. The average age of the youth respondents at the time of the youth interviews was 14 years old, and 47 percent of the youth were female.

### **Qualitative Data**

### *Data Collection*

The interviews were semi-structured, open-ended interviews that lasted between two and four hours for the adults, and between an hour and a half to three hours for the youth. The baseline interviews were conducted within three months of the respondent's orientation (orientations spanned a six-month period and move-in dates were even more dispersed). Families were contacted bi-monthly to check-in and see how the families were doing and determine any changes in their moving situation. Once a family moved, the second interview was timed at about three to four months after the move. The third interview occurred when the family celebrated its one-year anniversary in a new neighborhood. A fourth and final interview was conducted close to the two-year anniversary of the move. For families who did not move but remained in their baseline neighborhoods, these interviews occurred at about 12, 18, and 30 months after they attended an orientation session. The research team also took photographs of the various neighborhoods where respondents lived.

For purposes of comparison, the team conducted in-depth interviews and observations with both the movers and non-movers. The conversations with those families who did not move through the Gautreaux program discussed obstacles families faced in moving through the program, whereas the interviews with the movers highlighted the experiences of families as they made a Gautreaux move.

The in-depth interviews covered various topics related to program participation. For the adults, the interview topics generally included the current apartment, neighborhood life, a life history update, perception of neighborhood safety and crime, moving experiences, children, work, and mental health. The youth interviews covered the

topics of family, neighborhood, the moving process, school, peer networks, health, and future aspirations.

Topics were adjusted after each wave of the adult interviews to reflect the new themes that emerged throughout the previous interviews. Interview guides were constructed for each wave of interviewing with questions listed for each topic module. Interviewers were instructed to maintain a conversational approach during the interviews, so the interview questions served more as guides of topics to cover in the conversation. Specific sub-topics were listed with the questions as guidelines for probing for further information. Each interview guide was divided into modules, with sub-topics within that module.

The modules in the baseline interview were the following:

- Experiences with all aspects of Gautreaux Two program implementation
  - Enrollment
  - Orientation
  - Housing counseling
- Motivations for moving
  - Anticipated costs and benefits
  - History of housing situations and neighborhoods
  - History of involvement with public housing
- Employment history
  - Assessment of employment opportunities
  - Education and training
- Current social and neighborhood context
  - Social services and programs
  - Daily and weekly routines
  - Neighborhood resources and social support
  - Neighborhood management strategies
  - Social networks
- Family situation
  - Family relationships
  - Family structure and activities
  - Reliance on family for support

Since respondents were still in their baseline units at the time of the baseline interview, this interview guide was the same for all respondents. However, respondents moved at different times over the next few years, and some respondents did not move at all. Thus, the subsequent interview guides were adjusted depending on the individual respondent's current move status. The topics in waves two, three, and four were similar, but were tailored to the respondent's current situation. Both adult and youth respondents were also given a CES-D, which is the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale, which was developed by the National Institute of Mental Health. The modules in the second, third, and fourth wave adult interviews included:

- Household/current apartment
  - Household demographics
  - Unit quality
- Neighborhood
  - Changes in neighborhood
  - Neighbor transitions
- Life history/update
  - Financial and emotional support
  - Services and organizations utilized
  - Education
- Crime/safety
  - Safety perception
  - Victim of crime update
  - Police interactions
- Moving expectations/experiences
  - Housing search update
  - Satisfaction with unit and landlord
  - Location preference
- Children/family
  - School
  - Children's activities
  - Children's neighborhood experiences
- Work/benefits
  - Financial income
  - Expenses
- Self
  - Health and healthcare
  - Self-administered CES-D

- Hobbies
- Dreams for future

The modules in the youth interview consisted of:

- Family and Self
  - Nuclear and extended family
  - Activities and interests
- Neighborhood
  - Friends
  - Safety
  - Neighborhood comparisons
- Move
  - Search experience
  - Moving process
  - Moving transitions in school and friends
- School
  - Details of school
  - Grades and activities
  - Problems at school
- Networks
  - Peers and criminal involvement
  - Activities involved in
  - Role models
- Health
  - Emotional health
  - Engagement in risky behavior
  - Self-administered CES-D
- Future
  - Plans after high school
  - Dreams for future

Interviewers had respondents sign informed consent forms prior to each interview, as approved by the Northwestern University Institutional Review Board.<sup>4</sup> These forms described the scope of the study, that the respondent's participation was voluntary and they could stop at any time, the procedures for keeping the data confidential, and the risks and benefits of the study. Interviews with youth who were younger than 18 years old were conducted only after the legal guardian signed a consent

---

<sup>4</sup> I also applied for, and received, approval from Temple University's Institutional Review Board to complete this research in my capacity as a Temple student.

form, and the youth signed an assent form. Interviewers asked respondents to choose a pseudonym, which was used during the interview, and study identification numbers were assigned to all respondents. These identification numbers were used on all audio files, transcripts and field notes.

Interviewers audio recorded the interviews, with permission from the interviewee. The interviews were then transcribed by a group of trained transcribers. Quality checking was done on 15 percent of all interview transcripts. Additional data come from field notes and interviewer observations that were documented for every case after each interview. Interviewers were instructed to document the physical condition of the unit as well as the exterior of the building. Also, interviewers noted who was present during the interview, the respondent's appearance, and other details about the interaction. Appendix A provides an example of one of the interview guides to illustrate the tool interviewers used in the interview process. This guide is for participants who moved through the Gautreaux program, and is a wave four interview guide. The guide demonstrates the modules covered, the conversational nature of the interviews, and the probes and question intent descriptions. It also includes the CES-D, the form interviewers were given to document the quality of the physical unit, and the topics interviewers needed to address in their field notes.

I joined the Gautreaux Two research team in 2005 and participated in a small amount of the data collection. I spent time in Chicago and participated in team meetings and coding discussions. I participated in multiple interviews, coded transcripts, entered transcripts into the database, and met with the project coordinators. For further context, I returned to Chicago in 2009 and spent time in various neighborhoods in Chicago and its

suburbs. I met with a representative from the Chicago Housing Authority who gave me a tour of new and old public housing sites. I also met with a representative from the City of Chicago's Department of Community Development who was a program coordinator for the "Welcoming Our Neighbor" program, which tried to connect Gautreaux Two families to resources in their opportunity area neighborhoods.

### *Coding and Analysis*

After each interview wave was completed, the research team developed coding schemes that reflected both the core themes that shaped the study at the outset, as well as the themes that emerged in the data collection and coding process. Coders attended twice-weekly coding meetings to discuss the coding process and maintain consistency. Both a coder and a supervisor coded about one-third of the transcripts to increase inter-coder reliability. The coded transcripts were then entered into a database in Microsoft Access. For this project, I only used this database in my initial review of the data. I felt that it was important to read all the transcripts in full, given that I participated in only a small portion of the data collection. Thus, I created my own database to utilize for this project.

I maintained access to all of the transcribed interviews and field notes. I first read all of the youth interviews and one or two interviews from each of the adult respondents. During this time I developed an analytic memo in which I wrote notes about themes that I observed in my initial reading of the transcripts. I then constructed a profile of each respondent, with a detailed description of their experiences related to the themes that emerged.

After immersing myself in the data, I began generating a list of codes that I could use to code the data. I utilized both deductive and inductive methods of developing a

code list. First, I used the topic modules from the interview guides as some of the primary codes. Then, I used the themes that I recorded in the analytic memo while reading the transcripts to develop further codes. I then imported all the transcripts and field notes into ATLAS.ti, a qualitative software program. I also transferred my analytic memo to a file in ATLAS.ti. Once the data were in ATLAS.ti, I created a code list and read and coded ten transcripts. During this initial coding, I developed a methods memo in which I wrote notes about additional themes that were emerging in the data, and then used these themes to create more codes. After coding the ten transcripts, I revised the code list. I developed primary and secondary codes and wrote detailed descriptions of what each code contained. I then re-coded the first ten transcripts and continued coding the rest of the transcripts. As I coded, I continued to update the descriptions of what each code contains.

My final code list includes the following codes:

- Class issues
- Gangs and crime
- Gender issues
  - Children's gendered neighborhood experiences
- Landlord issues
- Mobility decisions
  - Financial factor in mobility decisions
  - Role of children in mobility decisions
  - Social ties as specific reasons for mobility decisions
- Neighborhood comparison
- Organizational ties
  - Job
  - School
  - Social services and social organizations
- Program participation
  - Chance of returning to baseline
  - Kin connections with mobility programs
  - Potential effects of moving
  - Why participated in Gautreaux Two
- Public housing history
- Racial issues
- Social ties

- Development of new social ties
- Negative social ties
- Positive social ties
- Social isolation
- Spatial issues
- Unit issues

While I coded, I added to the analytic memo. I kept track of themes that seemed particularly interesting, important, confusing and challenging. I noted if particular respondents' narratives exemplified different themes in the analytic memo, and I also made comments in ATLAS.ti that I attached to particular narratives with further reflection on their importance. Furthermore, I kept a memo for emergent questions to make a note to myself to look at the literature related to that issue. Thus, during the coding process I developed analytic, theoretical, and methodological memos.

After I finished coding all the transcripts, I organized my analytic memo into themes and decided which themes to focus on in my analysis. I then pulled all the quotes related to that theme and read through them, taking further notes in my analytic memo of which respondents reflected which themes. I also utilized ATLAS.ti to pull co-occurring codes so I could analyze the themes as they related to each other. Using these steps, I constructed my analysis by profiling the themes that emerged from the data and that related to my research questions, and used examples and quotes from respondents' narratives that illustrate these themes. I use quotes in a variety of ways. Sometimes I present multiple, short quotes that succinctly illustrate a particular topic. Other times, I use longer narratives to provide a more holistic representation of different processes.

Much of my research interests are about the neighborhood structures and institutions that intersect with social networks to influence families' neighborhood

experiences. The qualitative interviews provide me with the respondents' descriptions of these structures, and to complement these descriptions I used independent data on the neighborhoods and schools with which these families interact.

## **Quantitative Data**

### *Neighborhood Data*

I have access to the census tracts for the neighborhoods in which the respondents lived, and I used U.S. Census data to characterize the neighborhoods. The census level variables that I used are from the 2000 U.S. Census, and consist of poverty level and racial composition. I used the census data to describe the characteristics of neighborhoods families moved to on an aggregate level, as presented in Tables 3 and 4 in Chapter 3. I also used this information in conjunction with the qualitative description of the neighborhoods in order to provide a portrait of each neighborhood. It is important to note that the Gautreaux Two program conceptualized opportunity areas as neighborhoods that are low-poverty and racially diverse. The reality is that some of the neighborhoods that respondents moved to were not actually racially diverse, but were largely white neighborhoods. For ease of description and consistency, I use the term "racially diverse" neighborhoods throughout this paper, but in some cases the more accurate description is that opportunity areas are racially different than respondents' baseline neighborhoods.

Of course, there are methodological issues with simply equating a neighborhood with a census tract – census tracts take neighborhood structure into account but do not account for neighborhood social organization (the fact that social ties extend beyond a census tract). Scholars emphasize the challenge of defining a neighborhood and the problematic issues that arise when using census tracts as a proxy, as census tracts cannot

reflect the social networks that extend throughout the neighborhood (Briggs 1998, 1997; Gans 2002). Researchers have created a variety of ways to define neighborhoods. For example, Sampson and Sharkey (2008) utilize the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods (PHDCN) design, which aggregated contiguous and socially similar census tracts in Chicago into neighborhood clusters. However, the actual census tract that respondents moved to is useful in this analysis, as the requirements for living in an opportunity area were based on individual census tracts. Thus, I triangulate my descriptions of the respondents' neighborhoods with the census tract data, the respondents' own descriptions of their neighborhood, and the interviewers' field note descriptions of the neighborhood. My incorporation of both census tract data and respondents' descriptions of neighborhoods and the way their social networks are both grounded in and transcend spatial neighborhoods addresses this challenge of defining neighborhoods and speaks to my overall conceptual framework of considering both the spatial and social dimensions of community.

#### *School Data*

Another important aspect of neighborhood characteristics is the quality of the neighborhood schools the youths attend. The interviews with both the adults and the youths gather information about which schools the youths attend, and I used this information to provide more independent data about school quality to accompany the respondents' descriptions. I utilized the Common Core of Data (CCD) to describe the demographic and fiscal characteristics of the schools. The CCD is a program of the U.S. Department of Education's National Center for Education Statistics. The CCD variables that I used to describe the individual schools include racial composition and percent free

or reduced lunch eligible. I used data for the 2002-2003 school year, as this approximates when families would be making initial mobility decisions through Gautreaux. I used these data to provide profiles of the schools youth attended in my discussion of the role of schools in mobility decisions and experiences.

The racial composition variable measures the racial segregation present within a school. The percentage of students eligible for free or reduced price lunch is a proxy variable for poverty levels among students, as well as the resources within the school. Low-income students are eligible for either free or reduced price lunch. While not a precise measure, this variable also speaks to the resources that the school has, given that local taxes, in part, fund local schools. Thus, school districts with a higher percentage of low-income families typically have fewer resources than districts with fewer low-income families.

These census and school data provide ways to assess families' baseline and placement neighborhoods as well as further characterize the factors that respondents describe as meaningful to their neighborhood and social network experiences.

### **Conclusion**

In the past several decades there has been increased discussion about the problems of transferring criteria used in quantitative research to assess qualitative research. There are a variety of criteria that have emerged that may be more appropriate for the nature of qualitative research, although there is not consensus on a formal list of criteria that should be applied to all research that utilizes qualitative methods (see Lincoln 1995 for a thorough discussion of this issue). However, some commonly used criteria include credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Lincoln and Guba 1985). To

conclude the discussion of my methodological approach, I briefly address each criterion as it relates to my project.

It is important to ensure that the respondents' experiences are appropriately identified and described, which is an issue of credibility. The design of the study speaks to this issue, as most respondents were interviewed at four different periods. This provides multiple opportunities to ensure an accurate understanding of the respondents' experiences. During my analysis, I created profiles of each individual family, which provided an overall description of the respondents' stories. I used these profiles as a foundation for descriptions of individual quotes to ensure that quotes were not taken out of context. Also, in the presentation of my analysis, I contextualize the respondents' narratives and often describe their stories multiple times to ensure continuity.

The criterion of transferability reflects the idea that findings may be useful in similar situations or in answering similar research questions. The Gautreaux Two program was a somewhat unique mobility program. However, the experiences families had of living in public housing, moving to new neighborhoods, and making decisions about what is best for their children are applicable to the experiences of other families in similar situations. While I do not make claims about generalizing these results to a larger population, I believe there is a lot that can be learned about neighborhoods, social ties and housing policy from the narratives of participants in the Gautreaux Two program. I firmly embed my research in the broader literature, and discuss the ways that my findings relate to the findings of other researchers. In Chapter 7, I present the lessons I think can be learned and applied to other situations.

Dependability is another criterion that represents the importance of recognizing the changing context in which research is conducted. Again, I think the four wave interviewing method improves the dependability of the research. The research team checked in with respondents multiple times throughout the process. The data also provide the perspectives of adults and youth, which allows me to look at families' experiences from multiple perspectives. Finally, I triangulate the descriptions of the respondents' neighborhoods with the census tract data, the respondents' own descriptions of their neighborhood, and the interviewers' field note descriptions of the neighborhood.

Lastly, the criterion of confirmability speaks to the ability of the research to be confirmed by others, and that the results are shaped by the respondents' experiences rather than the researcher's bias. One of the primary ways I attempted to reduce bias in my analysis was to look for negative cases, or searching for alternative understandings. Thus, when I focus on a theme and profile respondents who fit that theme, I also present examples of respondents whose narratives contradict that theme. I tried to make my analysis as nuanced and complex as possible, rather than neatly fitting everyone into specific categories. In my discussion of the policy implications of my research in Chapter 7, I use quotes from respondents who speak to changes they would suggest. I also kept detailed memos of the methodological, theoretical, and analytical steps I engaged in as well as a list of things that were confusing and challenging. My code list describes all the topics that were subsumed in each code, and I carefully recorded the CCD and Census data. Of course, every research project has limitations, and I address these in Chapter 7.

## **CHAPTER 3: PUBLIC HOUSING HISTORY AND GAUTREUX TWO OVERVIEW**

### **Introduction**

As discussed in Chapter 1, the original Gautreaux program was used as a model for other housing mobility programs, on both a national and local level. By the time the Gautreaux program finished enrolling families in 1998 there were more than fifty mobility programs throughout the country (Rubinowitz and Rosenbaum 2000). In this chapter, I provide a brief review of the history of public housing policy in the United States, including an overview of recent housing mobility programs. I then highlight Chicago as an example of the history and progression of housing policy, emphasizing the contextual factors particularly relevant in Chicago. In this section I show maps and images to highlight the importance of the spatial context of the social processes relevant to this project. Next, I compare the original and second Gautreaux programs, and discuss the primary factors that may have contributed to the differential outcomes between these two programs. Finally, I provide an overview of the basic results of the Gautreaux Two program based on my analysis.

### **Public Housing History**

Public housing in the United States began in the 1930's in response to the Great Depression and the associated problems of lack of housing and unemployment. The creation of the Public Works Administration (PWA) in 1933 included a Housing Division, which oversaw the construction of seven public housing projects. The PWA's housing responsibilities ended in 1937, and following that the 1937 Housing Act initiated the system of federally funded, locally run public housing on a federal level (Lusignan

2002). This Act resulted in the authorization of federal loans to local public housing agencies to construct public housing (Stoloff 2004).

A primary factor in the emergence of public housing was efforts related to urban renewal. The 1949 Housing Act provided federal funding to the private sector for the clearance and development of slum areas. These areas were then repurposed for downtown business development and the construction of new, expensive housing stock. This resulted in dislocation of low-income residents who were very concentrated in these slum areas, as housing shortages and overcrowding had been persistent problems in Chicago and other cities for several decades. Thus, decisions had to be made about where to house dislocated residents, and a complex interplay of race and politics resulted in decisions about site selection for the placement of public housing (Meyerson and Banfield 1955).

In the initial decades of federal public housing, the selection of public housing sites was decided on a local public housing authority (PHA) level. Many of these decisions reflected intentional efforts to racially segregate public housing projects, and it was not until the 1960's when racial discrimination lawsuits were filed that the federal government became involved with site selection. In 1965 the Department of Housing and Urban Development Act created the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) as a Cabinet-level agency. The Fair Housing Act of 1968 made most housing discrimination illegal and granted HUD the responsibility of enforcing these anti-discrimination laws. The *Gautreaux* lawsuit, filed two years prior to the passage of the Fair Housing Act of 1968, was seminal in this effort to recognize the role of housing authorities in creating and exacerbating racial segregation. HUD, in connection with local

housing authorities, implemented a variety of new housing policies to attempt to address the issues of racial segregation and the concentration of poverty. The goal was to provide a variety of options for low-income subsidized housing, including scattered site, housing voucher and mobility programs (Stoloff 2004).

The scattered site program was implemented in Chicago under court order in response to the 1966 *Gautreaux* lawsuit, which alleged that the CHA and HUD had engaged in “systematic and illegal segregation” through tenant selection and site selection for public housing buildings. The *Gautreaux* decision found the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) to have been operating illegally by engaging in segregation, thus violating the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits racial discrimination in programs that receive federal funding (Keels et al. 2005; Polikoff 2006).

As a result of this Supreme Court ruling, remedies were enforced. The initial remedy was the scattered site program, which required the CHA to provide more public housing in predominantly white neighborhoods and for new housing to be comprised of low-rise small buildings on scattered sites, with no more than 120 people housed in any one public housing building. Along with these criteria, half of the units in these new scattered site developments were to be reserved for low-income families who already lived in the neighborhood, an attempt to house more white families in the new developments. In Chicago, there were a variety of issues with lack of funding and oversight of this program as well as community resistance. The scattered site program was administered in other cities as well, but it did not take hold as an overly effective desegregation tool (Rubinowitz and Rosenbaum 2000).

The housing voucher program was implemented nationally in 1974 to further utilize the private housing market by providing rent subsidies to voucher recipients, and it is now the largest direct housing assistance program in the US (NLIHC 2005). Originally called Section 8, these vouchers are now called Housing Choice Vouchers (HCV). This program is especially relevant to this project, as Gautreaux Two participants received a special version of these vouchers. As Devine et al. (2003) explain in their report on Housing Choice Voucher location patterns, the HCV program allows participants to secure housing in the private rental market. Administrative data on the HCV program show that a low percentage of voucher recipients continue to move to more advantaged neighborhoods (Devine et al. 2003; Feins and Patterson 2005). As Devine et al. (2003:vii) state, “Because the [HCV] program encourages participants to avoid high-poverty neighborhoods, and encourages the recruitment of landlords with rental properties in lower-poverty neighborhoods, it has the potential to affect both the welfare of participants and the welfare of the neighborhoods where they live.” The potential to improve the welfare of participants is largely dependent, however, on continued residence in more advantaged neighborhoods. Using longitudinal data from HUD administrative records, Feins and Patterson (2005:21) find that after entering the program, “a small but consistent tendency exists for families making later moves to choose slightly better neighborhoods.” Thus, it is important to understand why only a small percentage of families make moves to more advantaged neighborhoods through the HCV program. Although the vouchers that the Gautreaux Two participants received had special requirements, the housing decisions the participants made provide insight into

factors affecting families' use of the Housing Choice Voucher in metropolitan areas more generally.

The Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere (HOPE VI) Program was authorized by Congress in 1992 in an effort to address the reality that many high-rise public housing buildings were in extremely poor condition and to further HUD's efforts to deconcentrate poverty (HUD; NLIHC 2005). This program marked a decisive change in public housing policy by replacing high-rise public housing, which was occupied solely by low-income families, with new mixed-income, low-rise housing as well as housing vouchers (Popkin et al. 2004). HOPE VI is a program through which HUD awarded hundreds of grants in cities throughout the U.S. to be used for housing and "community supportive services" for residents (Popkin 2010). The specific goals of the HOPE VI program were fourfold:

- "to improve the living environment for residents of severely distressed public housing through the demolition, rehabilitation, reconfiguration, or replacement of obsolete projects (or portions thereof);
- to revitalize sites on which such public housing projects are located and contribute to the improvement of the surrounding neighborhood;
- to provide housing that will avoid or decrease the concentration of very low-income families; and
- to build sustainable communities."<sup>5</sup>

Over the years of its implementation, HOPE VI expanded from a redevelopment and community-building program to include an effort to create more economically integrated communities as well as provide more choices for residents to transition into the private housing market. The evaluations of the effectiveness of HOPE VI have been mixed, due

---

<sup>5</sup> Section 24 of the United States Housing Act of 1937 as amended by Section 535 of the Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act of 1998 (P.L. 105-276).

in part to the fact that local housing authorities had a large amount of control over how they structured their HOPE VI initiatives, and assessing the impact and future of HOPE VI continues (Popkin et al. 2004). A recent review of the effects of HOPE VI in Chicago raises real concern that some residents may not be better off as a result of the HOPE VI program (Popkin 2010). One of the primary critiques of the HOPE VI program is that it does not involve one-for-one replacement of units. The Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 decreed that when affordable housing units were destroyed, comparable units had to be provided for displaced residents. Congress repealed the one-for-one requirement in 1998; thus HOPE VI projects were no longer under the stipulation. This resulted in the displacement of many low-income housing residents and an affordable housing shortage, which creates lack of housing, tighter rental markets, and increased rent prices in the low-income market (NLIHC 2007; Popkin et al. 2004).

Moving To Opportunity (MTO) is a housing demonstration sponsored by HUD that ran from 1994 to 1998. This program was authorized by Congress in 1992 and utilized Section 8 vouchers (now called Housing Choice Vouchers) to assist low-income families in moving out of public housing projects to neighborhoods with less poverty. The program used an experimental format by randomly assigning families to experimental and control groups. Those in the experimental groups received two different types of housing vouchers. One experimental group received a regular Section 8 voucher, and the other experimental group received a voucher that had to be used in areas with less than 10 percent poverty. Those in the control group received no program support. The program was implemented in five US cities: Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York, and 4,608 families participated in the demonstration (NBER).

Both quantitative and qualitative assessments of MTO are still ongoing. The MTO Interim study, a quantitative study carried out four to seven years after random assignment, found that adult participants in both the MTO experimental groups felt safer and more satisfied with their housing and neighborhoods, and had improved mental health outcomes. However, there was not an effect on labor market outcomes for adults (NBER). For youth, participation in the experimental groups had very different effects on males and females, with female youth showing improved mental health outcomes, but male youth showing increased risky behavior (Clampet-Lundquist et al. forthcoming). There was no measurable effect on the educational achievement among youths who participated in the experimental groups (NBER). DeLuca and Rosenblatt (2010) discuss some of the possible reasons for this. Some children were already using addresses of family or friends to attend different schools, and some parents did not want to disrupt the social networks of their children by switching schools. Many parents had low expectations for what schools offer, and emphasized the importance of their child's attitude towards schools rather than the quality of the school. Another wave of quantitative and qualitative studies are currently underway to understand more of the long-term effects of neighborhood mobility.

### **Chicago**

Chicago is a prime example of racial politics, and the political context of housing issues is important to bear in mind. The decisions that housing authorities and city councils made about site selection of public housing and the role of racial issues in these decisions are clearly evidenced in the case of Chicago. The racial segregation of blacks in Chicago was apparent by 1930, and this segregation was the result of both white hostility

and government urban redevelopment and renewal policies (Hirsch 1983). Urban renewal and slum clearance dislocated low-income black families from segregated slum areas, transforming these areas into white middle-class housing and institutions by utilizing political and legal power (Hirsch 1983; Meyerson and Banfield 1955). In turn, high-rise public housing projects were built to re-house families in other segregated areas. Hirsch (1983) describes these projects as new “vertical ghettos,” and argues that the racial residential boundaries that were developed and maintained in Chicago directly related to the subsequent racial tensions in the city, including the infamous post-war race riots.

As I have discussed, the *Gautreaux* court case was a landmark case with many implications for housing policy in Chicago and throughout the country. Subsequent housing policies that were implemented in Chicago reflect similar trends across the country and provide specific examples to examine. The Lake Parc Place experiment was an effort to implement mixed-income housing in the low-income South Side of Chicago in buildings that were owned by the Chicago Housing Authority and had previously housed only low-income residents. The Lake Parc Place designer, Vincent Lane, was the chairman of the CHA, and implemented Lake Parc Place in 1991 to test the idea of mixed-income housing as a potentially positive new type of housing policy. Rosenbaum et al.’s (1998) assessment of Lake Parc Place indicates that the program successfully created a mixed-income population and provided attractive, safe, and well-maintained buildings. The assessment also indicates some level of social interaction and feelings of safety and satisfaction among residents. Nyden (1998) critiques this assessment, arguing that there were factors present in the implementation of this particular program that may

have altered the generalizability of the results. Nonetheless, the Lake Parc Place program is another example of Chicago as a significant site of housing policy debates.

The more recent trajectory of public housing in Chicago is important to recognize as further context for the implementation of the Gautreaux Two program. As recounted, the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) has been plagued with problems, and in 1996 HUD took over management of the CHA. In 2000 the CHA launched the “Plan for Transformation,” the goal of which is to replace dilapidated high-rise developments with more mixed-income housing, part of a larger national trend toward mixed-income housing. This Plan for Transformation involves a variety of strategies, giving residents of the high rise developments slated for demolition three options: moving to mixed-income housing, receiving a Housing Choice Voucher, or moving to another public housing development. The Gautreaux Two program was part of this Plan for Transformation (Popkin 2010). Prior to the Plan for Transformation, Chicago had some of the most notorious public housing projects in the country.

One example of these projects is the Robert Taylor Homes, which I highlight to demonstrate some of the issues surrounding public housing in Chicago. The Robert Taylor Homes development was built in 1962, and was at one time the largest public housing project in the U.S. It was built in the Bronzeville neighborhood in Chicago’s South Side along a two mile stretch between State Street and the Dan Ryan Expressway, making it very physically isolated (Gellman 2005). The project was built on Chicago’s historical “black belt,” was constructed in a slum area, and consisted of 28 massive high-rise buildings with a total of almost 4,300 apartments. Image 1 displays the long stretch of the Robert Taylor Homes buildings prior to demolition.

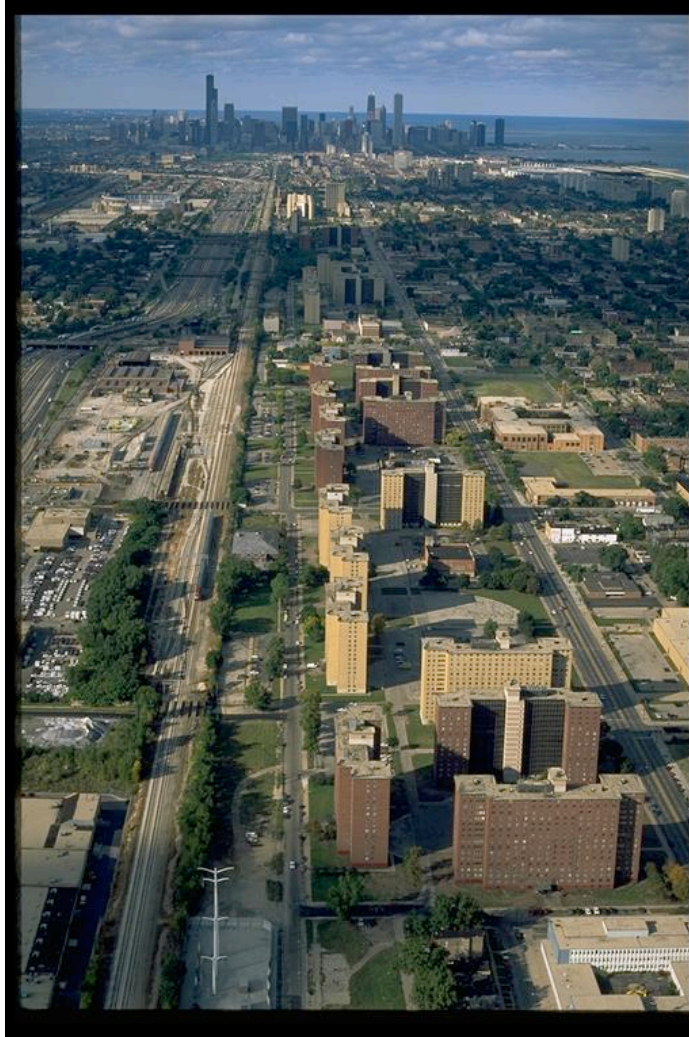


Image 1. The Robert Taylor Homes

Source: ©Alex S. MacLean/Landslides Aerial Photography  
[www.alexmaclean.com](http://www.alexmaclean.com)  
[Used with permission]

The Robert Taylor Homes also suffered from poor management, maintenance issues and budget restrictions. These factors combined with the broader trend of decreasing employment opportunities for blacks in Chicago resulted in extreme racial segregation and concentrated poverty in the Taylor Homes. The physical conditions of the buildings dramatically deteriorated over the years, and gangs, drugs and violence

plagued the Taylor Homes. Image 2 depicts graffiti on a concrete wall of one of the buildings in the Taylor Homes.



Image 2. Graffiti on Robert Taylor Homes Building

Source: The Gautreaux Two Research Team

In 1996 HOPE VI funds were allocated for replacement housing for the Robert Taylor Homes. Residents were gradually moved out of the Taylor Homes, and by 2007 the last of the Robert Taylor Homes buildings was demolished (Hunt 2001). Image 3 is a Google Earth image of the location where Robert Taylor Homes used to stand. Image 4 depicts a section of The Robert Taylor Homes after demolition.

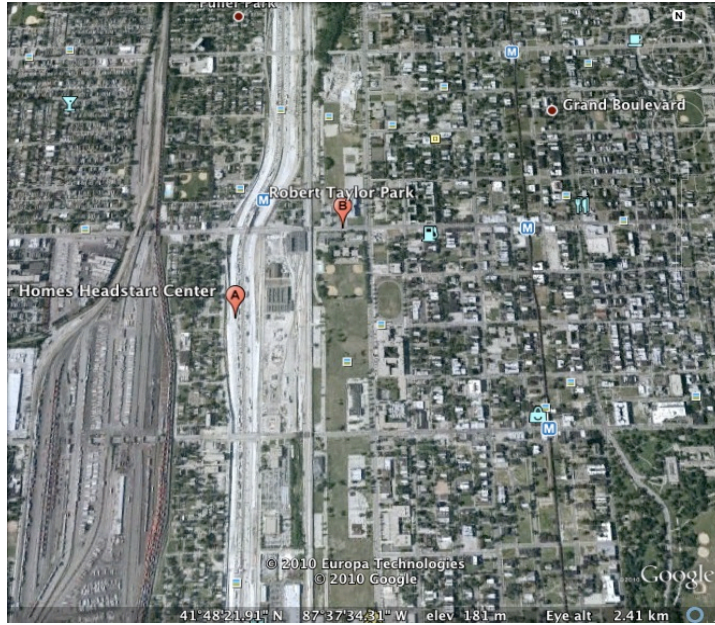


Image 3. The Prior Location of Robert Taylor Homes

Source: Google Earth Image, 2010



Image 4. The Robert Taylor Homes After Demolition

Source: The Gautreaux Two Research Team

This story was similar for other high-rise public housing in Chicago, and this was the context for the Gautreaux Two program as displaced public housing residents struggled to find other housing.

### **The Gautreaux Programs**

The experiences of participants in the original Gautreaux program have been “complicated” (Rubinowitz and Rosenbaum 2000), but overall the outcomes of the first Gautreaux program were better than the second. Recognizing these differences in outcomes, it is important to consider that the historical context and racial dynamics of Chicago and its rental market, as well as certain aspects of the program itself, varied between the first and second Gautreaux programs. Mendenhall (2005a) discusses the ways in which the Civil Rights Movement and the lure of industrial jobs in the North motivated the original Gautreaux program participants to move first to segregated neighborhoods in Chicago and then to the Chicago suburbs via the Gautreaux program, factors that were not as influential in the lives of those who participated in the second Gautreaux program. Also, during the years of the first Gautreaux program, the rental market in the Chicago suburbs had an ample supply of new, large, multi-unit apartment buildings. By the time the second program was implemented, many of these units were either no longer accepting voucher holders, or had been converted to condominiums, forcing families to settle in older problem-prone units. Additionally, the Gautreaux Two program took place in the wake of the change in federal low-income housing policy that was developed in the 1990’s with efforts focusing on demolishing high-rise projects and relocating families (Popkin and Cunningham 2005). The CHA implemented a variety of relocation programs in line with this policy, including its overall Plan for Transformation.

Because of this, the Gautreaux Two participants were part of a much broader group of public housing residents in Chicago seeking to find housing in other neighborhoods during this time period. Thus, it is necessary to recognize the unique aspects of the housing market in the city of Chicago as well as the differences between the housing opportunities available to the original and the second Gautreaux participants.

Pashup et al. (2005) discuss some of the difficulties Gautreaux Two participants faced in securing rental units, including external factors of a tight rental market, landlord discrimination against housing vouchers and bureaucratic delays. The impact of these obstacles could have been mediated with further assistance from program officials, as they were with the original Gautreaux program. As Rubinowitz and Rosenbaum (2000) discuss, during the original Gautreaux program, the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities performed extensive housing counseling for participants, both in connecting participants with landlords and specific units as well as post-move counseling and support. They find that the Leadership Council performed “capably,” which was not the case with the Leadership Council’s performance during the Gautreaux Two program, as Pashup et al. (2005) find. As I discuss further in Chapter 7, the Leadership Council’s poor implementation of the Gautreaux Two program was a fatal flaw, and considerations of the outcomes of the program must take these limitations into account. Though not simply the direct result of performance during the Gautreaux Two program, the Leadership Council closed in 2006 (NFHAO).

Unlike the first Gautreaux program, Gautreaux Two families who moved on from their placement neighborhood generally moved to addresses that were highly segregated by both income and race (Pashup et al. 2005). DeLuca et al. (2010) speculate that

participants in the original Gautreaux program may have remained in more advantaged neighborhoods longer may be due to the fact that program officials chose units for participants and negotiated with landlords, rather than depend on the participant to identify units and negotiate with prospective landlords on their own, which was the case in the Gautreaux Two program. There are other important contextual factors about Chicago that likely influenced participants' experiences. Moving often results in leaving one's social world because of the sheer size, geography, and transportation system in Chicago. Image 5 depicts the public transportation in Chicago, providing a visual display of how public transportation becomes more dispersed in the suburbs. As I introduced in Chapter 1, the layout of public transportation affects various facets of urban and suburban life. One of the most important factors is the connection between public transportation and employment opportunities. The dispersion of jobs into the suburbs and lack of public transportation makes it very difficult to be employed in the suburbs without a car (Adams et al. 2008, 1991). To illustrate this, Image 6 shows the job distribution in the Chicago area in 2000, as well as the major transportation infrastructure.

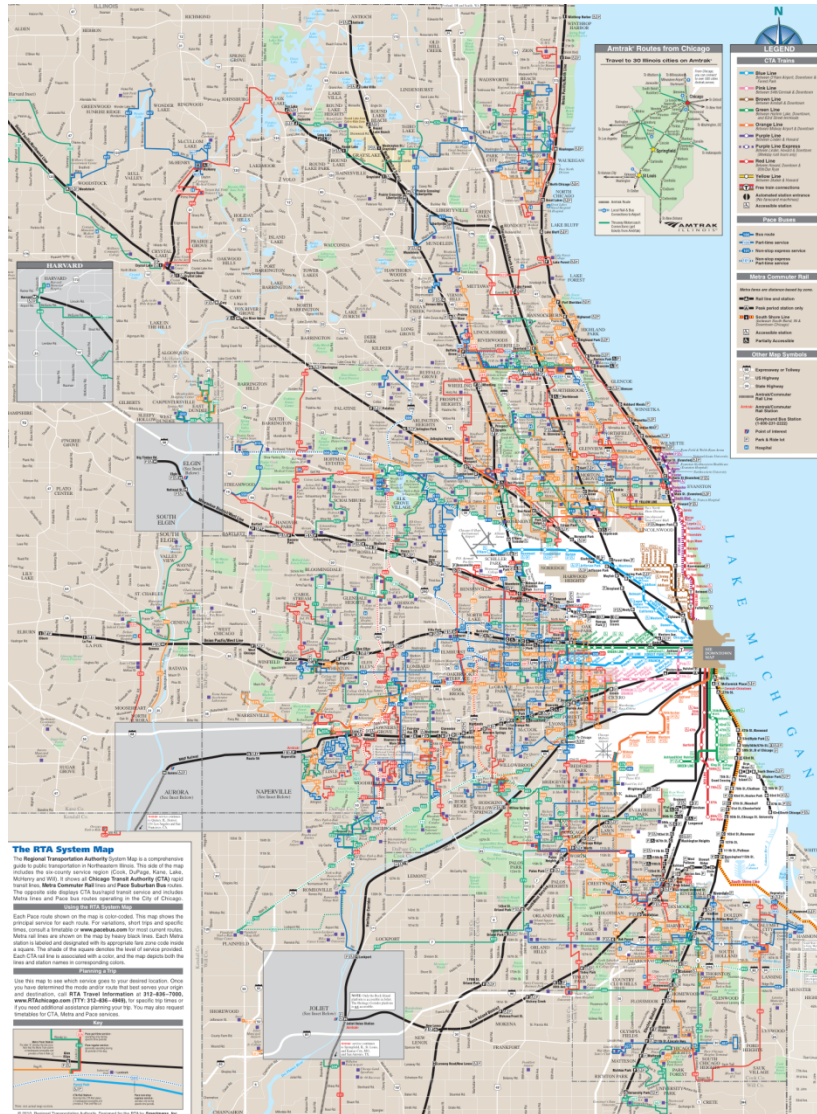


Image 5. Chicago Transportation Map

Source: [www.transitchicago.com](http://www.transitchicago.com)

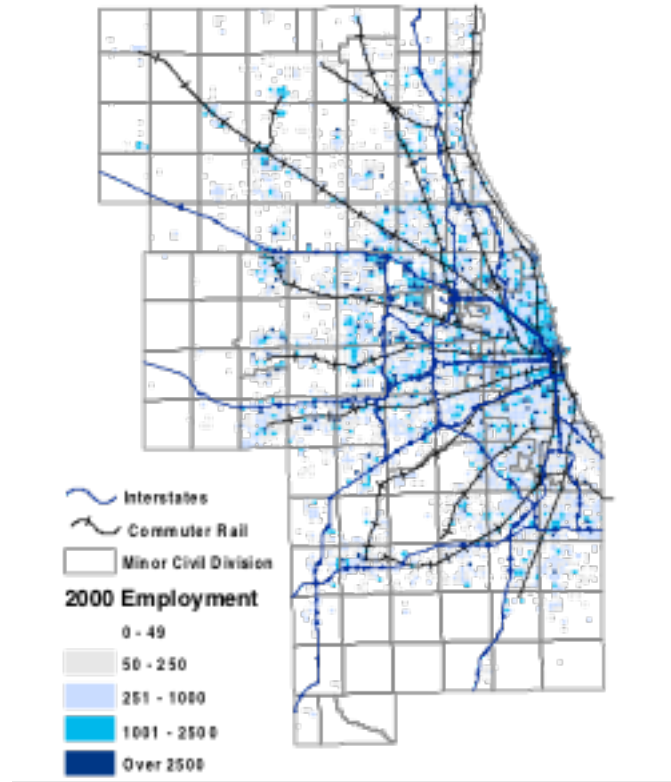


Image 6. Northeastern Illinois 2000 Employment

Source: Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning

Gautreaux participants were encouraged, though not required, to move into suburban neighborhoods. While there are many possible benefits of moving to a suburban neighborhood, the lack of accessible transportation in these areas created challenges for participants who did not have cars. Also, the quality of resources among suburbs varies greatly, and the experiences of living in an inner, southern suburb may be very different than that of living in an outer suburb in the north. The connection between time and space is crucial in providing portraits of the neighborhoods in which Gautreaux participants reside, as suburbs are not static; rather, they undergo racial and economic change over time. As Adams et al. (2008) describe, simple distinctions between city and suburb do not capture the various ways that growth and decline affect communities.

## Gautreaux Two Results Overview

Of the 91 respondents in the qualitative sample, 58 moved through the Gautreaux program as of 2005 and the rest (33) remained in their baseline neighborhood.<sup>6</sup> Though nearly two-thirds (58, or 64 percent) of the participants in our sample took up the Gautreaux Two offer and moved with the program, only about half (47 percent) of those who took up the offer remained in their placement neighborhoods for the duration of the study. The rest took advantage of their voucher's flexibility at the one-year mark and moved on. Only one secondary mover family had made more than one subsequent move at the point that the data collection ended in 2005. Table 2 depicts the move status of the respondents in the sample.

Move Status	Number
Non-Movers (remained in baseline neighborhood)	33
Stayers (remained in placement neighborhood)	27
Secondary Movers (moved to another neighborhood after placement)	31

Subsequent moves have been quite common across all types of housing mobility programs, such as the original Gautreaux housing mobility program (Keels 2008a) and MTO (Orr et al. 2003). However, in the first Gautreaux program, secondary movers usually moved on to neighborhoods that maintained the economic advantages of their placement neighborhood, neighborhoods with lower poverty levels, though they had a somewhat higher rate of black residents than the original addresses (Keels et al. 2005). The story for the Gautreaux Two movers is far bleaker than its predecessor. Those who moved on in Gautreaux Two usually returned to highly segregated neighborhoods with

---

<sup>6</sup> As of the time the study ended in 2005 or until data was no longer available for the respondent.

high poverty rates. Of the 31 respondents who made secondary moves, only 6 (19 percent) moved to another neighborhood that would qualify as an opportunity area, as defined by the Gautreaux Two program (less than 30 percent black and less than 23.49 percent poor).

Next, I describe the demographic characteristics of all the respondents and their origin, placement, and subsequent neighborhoods. The goal of this description is to provide detail about possible distinctions between families who remain in opportunity areas and those families who move back to poor and racially segregated neighborhoods.<sup>7</sup> These characteristics include the demographic characteristics of respondents, whether they made city or suburban moves, and whether they had had any recent residential experiences outside of public housing. As to the latter, the average tenure nationally in project-based housing is only three years, thus it is entirely possible that residents had lived in non-project housing in the past five years (Lubell, Shroder and Steffen 2003). I also look at the income and racial characteristics of the neighborhoods respondents lived in at baseline, and the income and racial characteristics of their Gautreaux Two placement neighborhoods. The respondents' addresses were geocoded, which allows me to match census tract data about location and characteristics to the respondents' neighborhoods. The income and racial characteristics of the baseline and placement neighborhoods were obtained from tract-level U.S. 2000 Census data, which provide the percentage of households that are black, Latino, and below the poverty level. I test to see whether there are differences between movers and stayers in these domains, and if there are differences between secondary movers who remained in somewhat racially and

---

<sup>7</sup> Due to the relatively small number of families in our sample, I provide a descriptive analysis of these demographic characteristics rather than a multivariate analysis.

economically integrated neighborhoods and those who moved on to high-poverty, highly segregated neighborhoods.

### *Descriptive Summaries*

Table 3 compares the demographics and neighborhood level characteristics of secondary movers (those who made another move after moving through the Gautreaux program), stayers (those who remained in their Gautreaux placement neighborhood), and non-movers (those who did not use their vouchers to move through the Gautreaux program). Stayers and secondary movers did not dramatically differ by average age of the leaseholder, average number of children, or average children's age. Stayers, however, were more likely to have held a job at some point during the study than secondary movers were (63 versus 39 percent). Some of these jobs were, in fact, in the placement neighborhood or close by. Table 3 also provides census tract characteristics of the poverty level and racial composition of the neighborhoods of secondary movers and stayers, and there are not dramatic differences, either in their neighborhoods of origin or their placement neighborhoods.

<b>Table 3. Comparison of Demographics and Neighborhood Level Characteristics of Stayers, Movers, and Non-Movers</b>			
	<b>Used Gautreaux voucher</b>		<b>Did not use voucher</b>
<b>Variables</b>	<b>Secondary Movers (N=31)</b>	<b>Stayers (N=27)</b>	<b>Non-Movers (N=31)</b>
<b>Respondent Demographics</b>			
Age	33.68 <sup>8</sup> (9.20)	36.37 (9.91)	37.69 (9.74)
Number of children	2.81 (1.96)	3.48 (2.06)	3.31 (1.65)
Number of respondent's children in household	2.35 (1.80)	2.48 (2.17)	2.97 (1.84)
Number of pre-school children in household	.73 (.87)	.50 (.71)	.61 (.88)
Employed <sup>9</sup>	39%	63%	55%
Lived outside public housing in last five years <sup>10</sup>	13%	35%	31%
<b>Origin Neighborhood Characteristics</b>			
<i>Ethnic composition</i>			
90% or more black	73%	70%	73%
<i>Socioeconomic status</i>			
40% or more poor	70%	70%	63%
<b>Placement Neighborhood Characteristics</b>			
<i>Ethnic composition</i>			
50% or more Hispanic	13%	27%	18%
80% or more non-Hispanic white	16%	15%	0%
50% or more non-Hispanic white	77%	62%	0%
<i>Socioeconomic status</i>			
Less than 10% poor	32%	39%	0%
20% or more poor	13%	15%	92%
Located in City	52%	63%	100%

<sup>8</sup> Values for age and number of children and pre-school children in the household are the mean and standard deviation.

<sup>9</sup> Respondent is coded as employed if they held a job at some point during the study.

<sup>10</sup> Respondents' provided residential history data, and this variable was constructed as a yes/no variable with respondents' who had, at some point lived outside of public housing in the five years prior to the study, designated as "lived outside of public housing in last five years."

The groups do differ somewhat in the proportion who found housing in the city versus the suburbs, also obtained by matching census data to respondents' addresses. About half (52 percent) of the secondary movers moved within the city and the rest moved to the suburbs. Stayers were somewhat more likely to have moved within the city (63 percent).

There were fairly large differences in the proportion in each group who reported having spent some time living outside of a public housing project during the prior five years. In order to be eligible for the Gautreaux Two program, families had to be current lease-holders in good standing in CHA public housing; many Gautreaux Two participants had not lived in public housing their entire lives. Thirty-five percent of the stayers for whom there is residential history data had lived outside of public housing during the prior five years, whereas only thirteen percent of the secondary movers had done so. This may suggest a learning curve in adapting to a more diverse neighborhood, or may be a proxy for other differences, such as the likelihood of having members of one's social network in the placement neighborhood prior to participation in the Gautreaux Two program. Nineteen percent of secondary movers had been lifetime residents of public housing prior to participating in the Gautreaux Two program and had never lived outside of public housing, whereas about eleven percent of stayers had similar housing histories. Individuals who had never lived outside of public housing may have had more difficulty negotiating with landlords or paying utility bills, as they would not have experiences with these processes. Table 4 describes the characteristics of the secondary neighborhoods to which Gautreaux participants moved.

<b>Table 4. Neighborhood Level Characteristics of Secondary Moves (N=29)<sup>11</sup></b>	
Opportunity area moves	19%
<i>Racial composition</i>	
Less than 10% black	21%
10% to 49% black	14%
50 to 89% black	17%
90% or more black	48%
<i>Poverty level</i>	
Less than 20% poor	34%
20% to 39% poor	49%
40% or more poor	17%

As noted earlier, only 19 percent of the subsequent moves were to neighborhoods that qualified as opportunity areas. In fact, nearly half (48 percent) moved on to neighborhoods that were over 90 percent black, an extremely high level of racial segregation. It is worth noting that all but one of these 14 families had originally hailed from neighborhoods that were at least 90 percent black, whereas 7 of the 15 families who moved on to neighborhoods with a lower proportion of blacks had lived in such neighborhoods at baseline.<sup>12</sup> Seventy percent of both secondary movers and respondents who stayed in their Gautreaux neighborhoods had lived in neighborhoods that were at

<sup>11</sup> Two of the 31 secondary movers were lost during follow up after the second move, leaving 29 secondary movers for whom I have information about the racial and income level composition of their secondary neighborhoods.

<sup>12</sup> There were no notable differences between secondary movers who moved to highly segregated neighborhoods and those who moved on to less segregated neighborhoods in terms of the economic character of their baseline neighborhoods or the economic or racial characteristics of their Gautreaux Two placement neighborhoods. Neither were there differences in the proportion who had been placed in the suburbs versus the city or the proportion who had had recent residential experience outside of public housing.

least forty percent poor at baseline. Only 17 percent of respondents who made a secondary move moved to a neighborhood that was 40 percent or more poor. However, only 34 percent of all subsequent movers moved on to low-poverty areas (defined as less than 20 percent poor, following Wilson, 1987). There were no distinguishing factors between this group and the other secondary movers.

### **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I provided a brief overview of low-income housing policy in the United States, and the historical background of the implementation of public housing on a federal level. Choices about site selection of public housing projects were made in very intense political climates, in which issues of race and segregation were prominent. The *Gautreaux* lawsuit in 1966 pointed to the ways that housing authorities and the government were complicit in the perpetuation of racial residential segregation, which also facilitated the concentration of poverty.

In recent decades, a variety of housing policies have been implemented to attempt to address these issues, including Housing Choice Vouchers (previously known as Section 8 vouchers), the HOPE VI program, and the Moving To Opportunity program. These programs have experienced varied success, providing important mobility options for some families but also resulting in decreased affordable housing stock. Other local housing mobility programs have been implemented throughout the United States, and I focus on Chicago as the site of this research.

The Chicago Housing Authority implemented the “Plan for Transformation” in 2000 in order to replace run-down, high-rise housing projects with mixed-income

housing. This plan greatly changed the landscape of Chicago, and I used the Robert Taylor Homes as an example of this process. The Gautreaux Two program was part of the Plan for Transformation, which gave public housing residents Housing Choice Vouchers to use in low-poverty, racially diverse neighborhoods. I addressed some of the difficulties participants in the program faced in attaining housing and accessing transportation in the suburbs.

The overall results of the Gautreaux Two program were that many families had difficulties moving, and those who did move through the program often made secondary moves back to high-poverty, racially segregated neighborhoods. This lack of durability in opportunity areas requires inquiry into the social processes that influenced these outcomes. In the next chapter, I address the motivations that families had for participating in the Gautreaux Two program, and continue in subsequent chapters to discuss families' moving experiences.

## CHAPTER 4: MOTIVATIONS FOR MOVING

### Beginning narrative

I: *So where are the places you want to go?*

R: *Like south suburban. South Island, Midlothian, I've been looking over that way. I really would have liked to go to Orlin Park, it's so nice, Orlin Park or Crestwood. What else? Oak Park is over there, over like southwest suburban, I've been looking over there a ways.*

I: *Are you looking to try to stay in that area?*

R: *Yeah.*

I: *Now you said you lived on 71<sup>st</sup>?*

R: *Sixty-first.*

I: *And so you're kind of familiar with that area. Was that farther east where you were?*

R: *No, that was like southwest. Southwest.*

I: *What is it you like about that area, and those areas you've been looking at?*

R: *Nice, mixed areas, nice homes. I need a house with a back yard at least. My kids need space. I need space. Churches and different community organizations you can see them all around. Malls and transportation is all around. I hear they call it the boondocks, too, but there's really one bus that comes in and out of here. Stops at a certain time. But you really need a car. In those places you need a car, too, but I've seen going back, there are buses and stuff running over that way. And it looks like, you know, it's more of a mixed area. And actually it's more Caucasian and Hispanics than it is African Americans and plenty of people. You go in the malls and the stores over there. Because see I'm a Wal-Mart fanatic. And I know all the Wal-Marts just about in the Chicago land... You know, everything is out where you could find it. I went into a Dominick's. We went into the Dominick's out there on what is it, Paylose Park. I didn't know that was as close as it is. Oh, no, Paylose Heights. I didn't know it was close over here like it is. I went over there, and people were so friendly and everything in Dominick's and stuff, so I'm looking for that type of atmosphere, peaceful, friendly, tranquility, something for peace of mind, a better education system, a better school system for my kids. Because they need a challenge coming up, and I know the little things we had coming up were OK for right now, and this was a year and*

*the future's nothing but technology. And they need a better, a challenging school system, because right now they're just competing against these kids out here. Most of them don't have a second grade education that pass, even some of the old ones, if their parents come in on my job, and half of them can't read. So they need something better than what I had. That's what I'm looking for, space, peace tranquility, a better education system for my kids. And a better outlook, period.*

### **Introduction**

This quote from Michelle illustrates many of the themes that I will address in this chapter. Michelle began living in public housing after having her first child so that she could have her own unit. She has lived in Altgeld Gardens for seven years, and she discusses her motivations for wanting to move out of Altgeld Gardens. She talks about the importance of more space, activities for her children, and a good school system, among other things. Her narrative about what she wants in a neighborhood for herself and for her children is illustrative of the variety of reasons respondents offered for participation the Gautreaux Two program. It is important to keep in mind, however, that most respondents had complicated viewpoints about the benefits and challenges of leaving the projects. Many respondents expressed a tension between positive aspects and problematic issues in their baseline neighborhoods.

In this chapter, I address these tensions. I discuss the various motivations families had for moving out of public housing projects, including issues related to safety and unit quality. I also look at expectations about the potential effects of moving and the role of children in mobility decisions. Finally, I highlight some of the obstacles participants experienced in actualizing their desire to move.

### **“Too Many Cracks”: Crime and Safety**

One of the primary reasons respondents gave for wanting to move out of their baseline neighborhoods was to move to safer areas. The role of issues of safety and crime

is a complicated one in public housing projects. One of the goals of mobility programs is to provide opportunities for families to live in safer, less crime-ridden neighborhoods. Public housing projects typically have very high crime rates and issues of drugs and gang violence were especially high in projects in Chicago. However, while families may move to neighborhoods with less crime, some may still feel at risk in a new location where the layout of the crime is unknown. In her research on families who moved out of a public housing project in Philadelphia, Clampet-Lundquist (2010) finds that many families who were living in public housing had an informal social network of ties that included a sense of being “known” and “knowing” the landscape of crime and violence in the area, as well as an informal warning system of neighbors and even gang members who would warn families that a shooting was about to take place so that they could go inside. When these families moved out of the projects to other neighborhoods, some felt vulnerable because they were no longer embedded in the informal network of protection. Gautreaux Two respondents’ narratives about crime and safety reflected some of these concerns, but many also expressed an extreme desire to move to safer neighborhoods, especially for the sake of their children.

Later in this chapter as well as in subsequent chapters, I specifically focus on the role of children in mobility decisions, but one of the primary issues related to parental concern about children is safety. These concerns are often expressed in connection with ideas about gender, as parents frequently have different safety concerns for boys and girls. While there certainly is variation in these gendered safety concerns, the most common distinction is worry about boys becoming involved in gangs. For girls, concerns about early pregnancy are prevalent. For example, Rhonda is 30 years old and she has

lived in Robert Taylor Homes for 12 years. She has 3 children, ages 12, 8 and 7, and when talking about her expectations for her children as they grow older she says:

Don't play with me! I'm not the one, I'm not about to go see no son in jail. I'm not about to take care of no pregnant - girl! No babies, baby, no. I'm not about to take care of no little babies. Cause I don't believe in abortions, I refuse to let my child have a baby. That's gonna be my baby!

In general descriptions about neighborhood safety, concern about boys and gangs dominated. Alicia discusses the issues of crime in Cabrini Green and how she wants to move to a safer neighborhood so her 11 year-old son does not spend further time exposed to the gangs and violence in the projects. Interestingly, she says she does not want him to grow up with a "project mentality." When asked how the neighborhood has changed since she moved to Cabrini 11 years ago, she describes:

Oh, it changed a whole lot, you know, from what I can remember, you know. I had my son in '91. I was 18 then. In '91 it had just started to change then. There was so much upcoming and demolition going on, and you know, around that area. Now since I've been here, in Cabrini, that started at least about five, six; about six, seven years ago...But you know with all of this stuff going on, I thank God that I can raise son even though he's not project mentality. You know how the kids be, having the project mentality. My son is not like that. And I'm trying to get him away from here before temptation and peer pressure and all that, before he really becomes a teenager...He's 11 now. So I'm trying to really get up and get up out of here. And I'm trying to do it as soon as possible, you know. The change, I wouldn't mind staying in this area, because I know these are all coming down. And I'll be so glad. But you know, I'd be mad at these folks over here. These people that live here, because they act like they don't want nothing.

Monique also lives in Cabrini Green, and she connects safety of children with wanting to move as well. When asked how she would describe the neighborhood for her children, she says:

Oh no, it's nothin' to raise your children, oh, definitely not. I - that's my, my most fear of my children. I can deal with whatever, but my children, I want the best for them. And the neighborhood is not a neighborhood - if someone would ask me, well, do you think I should move here? I'd say, if this will be your last

option, I would say yes. But if it's not your last option to go with your first option. Because this is not a - if they have children... This is not a place to raise your children. Because it's too many cracks that they can fall into. Especially boys. Girls too, but boys is really - you know, cause it's so much peer pressure, you know. So much of that... [Cracks means] where they can fall in towards gangs, drug selling. Peer pressure towards them. A lot of kids don't wanna do things an they make - you know, guys make 'em, you know what I'm sayin'. And hey, it's just, it's just - I see a lot of things. And kids come, you know what, this is what I know because kids come, you know, like I say my door is open and sometime I believe they come here just to, just to - I'm here, I'm safe... Right. You know, I'm safe. You know, I ain't gotta worry about her makin' me doin' this or doin' that or - you know what I'm sayin'? Bein' somewhere what I know that I'm not gonna get guidance an stuff like that, you know, and I don't participate in the smoking. I have seen adults smoke with younger kids. You know, an these adults around here, it's worsen than the peer pressure with your own age. They get high with the kids. Yeah. I've seen 21's get high with 14, you know... Yeah. So the factor about me raisin' my kids here is a big no-no. My son, he's involved with basketball. It's a plus, but he's involved with the school and the park district, but the park, I'm sayin' like over here - the park district, he play for the park district, but he can play for any park district, so it's not like - they open a lot of doors for him, but it ain't like the doors wouldn't a been opened if he hadn't been somewhere else.

While wanting to move to a safer neighborhood was one of the primary reasons respondents gave for why they wanted to move out of their baseline neighborhoods, respondents also talked about the crime that surrounded them in the projects as something that they usually were able to manage. While it is not ideal, especially for their children, years of living in these neighborhoods required that they navigate their family in this environment, and social ties are an important part of managing crime. Shana, who lives in Cabrini Extensions, discusses the ways that knowing one's neighborhood affords a sense of safety. During the interview, she asks the interviewers what other projects they have been to. They respond with a list of other projects, including Altgeld Gardens, Ida B. Wells, LeClaire Courts, etc. and Shana responds:

See them, them other, I probably wouldn't want to live in because I'm used to over here... Yeah, like they probably think their project's better than ours. And I think ours better than theirs. The way it looks and their buildings look spookier to me... And it's kind of uncomfortable, and I don't blame, like a lot of people say it's uncomfortable to come over here. It's uncomfortable for over there. It's like scarier, because I been like to the Ickes and to the Hilliard. It's like scarier.

Gangs are a key component of crime in the projects, yet gang members can play an important role in managing who is the target of violence. Rachelle explains that in some ways, gang members are like family. When asked how safe her neighborhood in Cabrini Green is, she says:

Pretty safe... Like if somebody, if somebody try to rape somebody, the gang bangers, they all them go jump on the man, the police come, they gonna be done, the man probably be dead. When they get through stompin' him... Gang bangers like a family. Everybody like a family... It's all right. [The gangbangers] know they ain't gonna bother you. Different kind of gang in different building.

However, later in the interview Rachelle explains further that the way to keep staying safe is to "Just be sayin' our prayers." Her narrative is an interesting example of this contrast between managing crime, but also feeling a lack of control over safety.

Sixteen year-old Byron's story also demonstrates the penetrating power of crime and violence and the role of social networks in managing it in his neighborhood in Trumbull Park. Tragically, his life was touched very intimately by violence when his best friend was shot and killed by a member of the Latin Kings gang. However, when asked if gangs ever ask him to join, he says:

Oh naw. No gang ever approached me. Cause I was always, I wasn't really, I was like, I was always the cool one. They always knew that they'd never come approach me like that... Cause most of them, most of them are my friends. Cause of my uncle. My uncle in a gang. And I guess my uncle told them don't go to my nephew like that.

His uncle is a member of the Gangster Disciples (GD) and he acts as a barrier to some gang involvement for Byron, but Byron has still had interactions with gangs.

While respondents had ways of managing crime in their baseline neighborhoods, most cited crime as a primary motivation for moving out of the projects, and generally were grateful to be living in safer neighborhoods when they moved to Gautreaux neighborhoods. Leslie lived all 37 years of her life in Altgeld Gardens before moving to Zion, in Lake County, through the Gautreaux program. When asked how gang activity differs in Zion compared to Altgeld and how that affects her 13 year-old son, Leslie says:

That's the good part because you know, bein' in Chicago [gangs] probably been recruiting him or somethin'. And up here, you know, the kids are basically - the parents are more closer to the kids and you know, the kids go in the house, go inside. Cause he comes in the house all the time, you know, curfew and everything. You don't see no kids hangin' out like after what - soon as it get dark! Kids are in the house.

Candace made the short move from Humboldt Park to Wicker Park through Gautreaux.

Also asked how things have been different for her family since moving to Wicker Park, she says:

I can say that I'm more at ease over this, peaceful. You know I was real concerned about the girls and the gangs and the drugs over that way. And then we did, I did have an incident where my girls just happened to all be sleeping in the living room. A man opened my living room window; we heard the fire department. And they just stepped right on in at four o'clock in the morning. So, 'cause they removed all the bars off our windows, 'cause they said CHA said it was a fire, something about fires. So I think I'm more peaceful, I, I'm, a couple things, we're up higher. That makes a difference. Been here over a year, never had any problems, you know. My girls like it over here because they can walk to school. You know, it's just, it's just a better environment for them. Much, much better.

Overall, crime and safety are particularly salient issues in Gautreaux two families' narratives. While they discussed ways that they navigated and managed crime in their baseline neighborhoods, most respondents expressed extreme concern about the violence in their neighborhoods. For those with sons, worry about gangs was primary.

Another significant issue that respondents discussed was problems with

opportunity area units and landlords. In the next section, I discuss the role of poor quality units in respondents' motivations to move.

### **“Somewhere that’s just nice”: Unit Quality**

Another primary motivation for respondents to move out of their baseline neighborhoods was to secure a better unit. As noted in Chapter 3, the deplorable conditions of high rise housing projects necessitated the initiation of a variety of housing policies throughout the U.S in order to replace them. Most Gautreaux Two respondents were thrilled to be able to utilize the Section 8 voucher to acquire a unit and move out of public housing units. Enthusiasm about moving to a new unit was often connected with having more space for children. Cynthia has lived in Trumbull Park for eight years, and she discusses what she wants from a move:

Just my kids being somewhere that’s just nice. Having more room. I think the more room, the less fighting that would go on in the house, because my kids are just at each other’s throats, you know, and it’s what they say with Robert Taylor or, you know, any projects, you put a bunch of people together, you know, of course they going to get tension built up. That’s how my kids are, you know, we all crowded in this house. There’s so much tension.

Sandra discusses some of the problems with her unit in Altgeld Gardens. She has lived in multiple units at Altgeld, and she explains that the other units she has had in this building were infested with roaches and mice. She was moved to her current unit because it is supposed to be a rehab unit. However, Sandra describes the current unit as having problems with plastering, windows and wiring, among other issues. She explains that if she puts in a work order it can take two or three months, sometimes up to six months, for the issue to be addressed. When asked about other dealings with the management office Sandra rates their job performance at a 1 on a scale of 1 to 10 and says:

..they need to know how to talk to people, that’s one. Oh, they talk to you like

they're better than you, I guess. Because you're living in there, living there. These places are for temporary, we didn't tell you all to make a home out of them, but you all just get here and stay. Some people can't do any better, so they have to wait until they can do better, like you, and then move on... Basically that, and just the way they talk to you when you ask them questions. And they holler and scream at you, like you're their children, but you're not.

These descriptions of problems with baseline units are important context for respondents' experiences in placement units. At baseline, most respondents fully expected a move through the Gautreaux program to result in a much higher quality placement unit. However, this was not always the case and many respondents moved to poor quality units through the Gautreaux program. In Chapter 5, I further discuss this difference between expectations and actual experiences regarding units.

### **“They always in your business”: Negative Social Ties**

Another complicated issue that respondents discussed is that of the negative aspects of social ties. Much of the social networks literature focuses on the positive features of social ties and the development of trust in these social connections. Stack's (1974) work on social networks in poor black communities, particularly among women, is seminal in this area and offers useful framing for understanding social support. However, as Greene, Boyd and Edin (2010) describe, while social networks can be crucial support systems, social network burdens can also be the causes of financial and other types of crises. These negative aspects of social ties are also related to issues of trust. Stack's (1974) findings that poor families in black communities develop deep trust with others in order to survive has recently been challenged by other research (Smith 2007) indicating that poverty can limit and counteract trust. Sampson, Morenoff and Gannon-Rowley's (1997) important study of collective efficacy in mediating crime in neighborhoods utilizes a measure of trust and mistrust. In her review of the sociological

literature on trust, Smith (2010) describes the ethnoracial gap in trust, with blacks generally being less trusting than whites, and the ways that neighborhood and community contexts influence this gap. As Lin (2001) explains, trust is a complicated and multifaceted issue. Gautreaux respondents' narratives regarding trust reflect that complexity. In my study, many respondents articulated a lack of trust among neighbors. While many families had positive social ties that were primary support systems while living in public housing, many also experienced negative aspects of social connections. Often, these negative social ties were connected with lack of trust of neighbors.

One of the ways that this lack of trust and negative social ties was experienced was the idea of neighbors always being in your business. Explaining the reasons that she wants to move from Trumbull Park, Cynthia describes the things that she likes least about the neighborhood:

I guess, the same things, people have no ambitions, no dreams, no desires, that's the least thing that I like... The people... They're always in your business. I'm not going to miss that... I try to get along with everybody but, like I said, you know, I stay to myself because I know what type of neighborhood this is, so, I basically, you know, stay to myself, and handle my business and I'm out of here... Basically, you know if they looking out the window they see who comes, who goes, and if you go around talking, you know, tell them your business, they get into it.

Others talk about not really being involved in their neighborhood in the first place. When asked what she likes most about living in Altgeld Gardens, Mary says:

I really, I really wouldn't be able to answer that question because I don't - I'm not here. When I come home, it's like time to go to bed. And I don't know a lot of people out here, because I had like, bad experiences with neighbors and stuff, so I kind of like, keep to myself. I know a few people, but as far as the community and doin' things, the only thing I like in this community is the doctor's office. I love that doctor's office. It's a lot of people that don't even live around this area that moved out of this area that still goes there. They have great doctors, they have great dentists... But as far as like, activities and stuff that's out here, I really don't participate. Because if I'm not at work, I'm tryin' to do somethin' with the

kids, we're away.

Mary also sends her three children to a Christian school near her mother's home in the southern suburbs, a further indication of being removed from her baseline neighborhood.

When asked how many days last week she felt like people were unfair, Mary began discussing people in Altgeld and said:

I felt that way about two days ago. Something happened that shouldn't have happened and it did. And then I just overlooked it. I felt like somebody, maybe they were just using me or something, you know. You'll be trying to help somebody else out and then you felt like they're going to do this back for you, and didn't do it. Like if you help your friends with something and then they tell you I'm going to pay you back, and then when they get it, they don't know you. And that makes you feel sad and you have to turn away from your friend because you can't trust them... So that's why I just stay away from them. I don't borrow nothing from them, and no one's borrowing from me. You didn't really need it, and I know you need it regardless of what we went through. Whether you pay me back or not, I know if you need it, I'll give it to you anyway.

Another sentiment that respondents often discussed in connection with lack of trust was distancing themselves from other people in the projects, emphasizing that they individually were different than the people around them. For example, when Cynthia asked what she likes least about Trumbull Park, she says:

The least that I like? I'd have to say, the uh, I think everybody here's really - they don't want to do anything with their life. They stuck. I can't stand to see people like that... You know, not wanting to do anything, stand outside, smoking Bud, drinking, you know, don't want to get a job, and you know, don't want to take care of their kids. They stuck.

Linda expresses a similar idea of differentiating different types of people within a neighborhood. She describes that her neighborhood in scattered sites housing is okay but that there are particular people that one needs to watch out for:

Well, in my book, the neighborhood is okay, but you just gotta watch who you friends with and you know, its okay, cause it's a lot of people that move over here that don't associate with nobody. They just stay to they self. But, I said, its okay.

Later, Linda is asked what she will miss about the neighborhood and she says:

Well, the least, cause once I leave I try not to look back, cause its gonna be, it ain't no happy memory, its not much happy memories over here. I'll speak to my neighbors maybe across the street, but I won't come and visit, maybe I'll come back and visit sometime, but not all the time. This neighborhood ain't gonna be a neighborhood you gonna miss, cause there wasn't no really happiness.

There are many aspects of negative social ties, and what I have just described are about issues of not liking neighbors or feeling like neighbors are too involved in your business. This is different from, though related to, the burden of social networks. Some respondents talked about regulating how much they rely on others or how much others rely on them in order to avoid this type of burden. When asked if she and her neighbors in Robert Taylor ever borrow things from each other, Rhonda says:

Do they borrow from me? I don't like borrowin' from anybody, no no no no. Now my cousin, sometimes I can do. And my neighbor, sometimes, sometimes she like, you got some [butter] or somethin' like that. As far as borrowin' food an money - mm mm (disagreeing) - Cause nobody doin' that to me. I can't - I can't give 'em that. Cause once you borrow one thing from them, then they be gonna come, and come, and come, and come, and come. Like I was sayin', people who got - who get checks. Who get they Link card and things. Won't buy anything. The next day, they'll come to your house, can I borrow some sugar? That's when I be like no. I'm straight. Keep whatever you got. I go to the store.

In this section, I highlighted some of the ways that respondents experienced the negative aspects of social ties in their baseline neighborhoods. However, there were also many ways that respondents experienced positive social ties, and greatly missed these when they moved to other neighborhoods. I discuss these social ties in further detail in Chapter 5. Next, I address the role that children play in families' neighborhood mobility decisions.

### **“Not letting him become a statistic”: Role of Children in Mobility Decisions**

The ways that children play a role in families' mobility decisions are varied. I

have already addressed the role of safety and gender issues, and will develop this discussion further by analyzing the role of children in secondary mobility decisions in Chapter 5. In this section, I focus on families' motivations for moving out of public housing as related to children.

One reason parents stated for moving out of the projects was to give their children more opportunities. Candace describes her number one reason for wanting to move out of her neighborhood in scattered site housing near Humboldt Park:

I want my children to have a chance too. My children are my, is number one in my life. And, you know, I want them to, hopefully to get into a neighborhood where they can get involved with different after-school programs. My children, my daughter is 14 and she wanted to learn tap dance. You ain't going to find tap dancing in Humboldt Park area. You know what I'm saying? I work for the YMCA, they all have memberships and you know, they, none of them are master swimmers but they can come to any YMCA in the US and use a YMCA, but that's not really. You know, one wants to learn piano, where are you going to, that I can afford to pay for it. Is another thing, you know. And I've been reading in papers and you know, there are programs out there if you're in the right area...Just so they have choices. You know, not be limited, to what they can and cannot do. We're right next to Humboldt Park, and don't get me wrong, Humboldt Park has come a long way, the actual park. I mean you have the tennis court and, and, there's a lot of different ethnic backgrounds that are moving into the area now. Two doors from me, there's a 3-unit condo, they're starting at 199 thousand dollars to two hundred--, they can't sell it. Cause if I had that much money to spend I wouldn't want to live on the street I live on.

Related to this goal is parents wanting their children in a better environment.

Asked the same question about her number one reason for wanting to move from Cabrini Green, Alicia says:

To raise my son in a better area and the best environment. That's my number one priority right there. Then comes me. But [my son], that's my number one priority, because I know what peer pressure is. And I know when you're raising a boy which is going to be a young man soon, things and stuff start opening up to their eyes, whether they know it's good or bad. And sometimes the mother has to always be there to support that child and let him know. I take my son, first I'm his mother; second I'm his best friend, because I'm going to be there before anybody else, you know; and third, you're going to come talk to me about

anything there is, because regardless if you did it or you didn't do it, we got to work through this together. I can't just let you go off by yourself and say, well you did that, you're going to go to jail. I'm not letting him become a statistic.

As I discussed earlier, safety issues were closely linked with concerns about children. Rhonda describes how it is for her children to live in the Robert Taylor projects:

My kids. Girl, my kids hate - I wished they was here, they'd tell you. Oh my god! They hate the projects. My little son come outside, ma, you know they sellin' drugs? We can't even walk down the stairs! He be like, would y'all move please? Like one day someone was shootin' dice in front of our door. He was like, my mama don't snap on you! Why's you standin' right here? They just lookin' at my son. I opened the door, I say, you heard him. Move! They was like, mad. When I got my Section 8 from here, they was like, ohh, we about to move! They was so happy, they was so happy. They was like, mom, when we gonna move, I'm tryin' to get out of here before Thanksgiving or Christmas, I'm tryin'. They like, man. We had a lot of - we seen a lot of houses, I take them too, they be so happy...They hate here. They hate here. They can't wait till we move. We can't go outside - we can't do nothin'...That's why - they got everything that they need. Computers. Video games. TV's, VCR's, DVD's, anything you need, you got. So there's no reason to go out. Then we have family days, they father come gets us and we all go to the show on like a Saturday. Or a Friday. Then we go out to eat maybe on a Sunday, if I don't cook. So I try to do as much as I can, but they still wanna get out there - all my friends! I'm not your friend's mama, boo! No no, I'm your mom. No, this world nowadays, it's just scary. I can't let my kids out there. It ain't nothin' like when we was growin' up. Nothin'. I just can't let my kids go out there, cause I know my temper, I be in jail, someone messin' with one of my kids!

In this section, I addressed the variety of ways that consideration about children affects parents' mobility decisions. Often, these considerations about children were expressed in parents' narratives about the potential effects of moving. To tie these themes together, I continue this analysis of the impact of children on mobility decisions in the next section on perceptions of potential effects of moving.

### **“There's a life besides the projects”: Potential Effects of Moving**

As I have discussed, respondents described a variety of reasons why they wanted to leave public housing, and this was often connected to what respondents viewed as

potential effects of moving. In other words, their mobility narratives were more than reasons why they wanted to leave; they were also narratives about where they wanted to move and why. These descriptions about the potential effects of moving were often related to their children. Describing her biggest reason for wanting to move from Altgeld Gardens, Lisa, whose son has cerebral palsy, says:

Self, biggest reason, if I want to take it serious for the kids. It'd be self. If I can better me, I can better them. [I'm looking for a place where] you know, like the school systems and they be a real much different than here. I don't want to be like this. I don't want to be worried about this and worried about that. You know, I want to be comfortable with them going outside with other kids, or having kids come over to the house. And they spend time with kids and go play with other, you know, here? No way. You know, that, jobs. I plan on working where if something goes really, really wrong with [my son], you know, because that's [an] important responsibility. It's, it's not like [with] palsy, you know, they gonna be here but you gotta really do this and do that, but you can work and they can go, you can send them here and there. It won't be the same for him. I can see myself doing that. I don't have to be at home with him. It's just like I'm putting him off on somebody so I can work, so I can do something for myself.

Francine provides a similar description for her number one reason for wanting to leave Ickes related to her 11 year-old daughter:

Better life for my daughter for one. I wanted her to see, like I said, other things. It's not all about living in the projects, smelling this garbage, seeing these kinds of people. I want her to meet different people. I don't want my daughter to grow up with only black people. I want her to get to know white people, Hispanic people, let her see different things in life besides the shooting and the drug dealers and all that. You know, let her know there's a life besides the projects or whatever. I wanted it better for me because I wanted to find somewhere where I would just feel at peace just sitting outside, like sitting on my porch. And I ain't got to worry about nobody, duck, you know you got to duck, or smelling no stinky garbage or you know stuff like that.

Francine mentions the issue of race in thinking about the type of neighborhood she would like to move to, and I focus on the complexity of racial issues in Chapter 6. Next, I address the complicated matter of schools.

### **“It’s basically up to the child”: Schools**

As I discussed in Chapter 3, research on housing mobility programs has not found consistent effects on the educational achievement among youths who participate in these programs. One of the reasons for this among families in Baltimore who participated in the MTO program were that many parents had low expectations for what schools offer, and emphasized the importance of their child’s attitude towards schools rather than the quality of the school (DeLuca and Rosenblatt 2010). I discuss this dynamic further in Chapters 5 and 6, but at this point it is helpful to understand that families had different perspectives on the role of schools in choosing where to live. However, overall the issue of school quality was not as significant of an issue in this sample as would likely be expected in a sample of middle class families. Again, there was variation and many families listed good schools as a factor in their motivation to move. I highlight a section of the opening narrative for this chapter as an example. Michelle discussed what she was looking for in a new neighborhood:

I’m looking for that type of atmosphere, peaceful, friendly, tranquility, something for peace of mind, a better education system, a better school system for my kids. Because they need a challenge coming up, and I know the little things we had coming up were OK for right now, and this was a year and the future’s nothing but technology. And they need a better, a challenging school system, because right now they’re just competing against these kids out here. Most of them don’t have a second grade education that pass, even some of the old ones, if their parents come in on my job, and half of them can’t read. So they need something better than what I had. That’s what I’m looking for, space, peace tranquility, a better education system for my kids. And a better outlook, period.

Michelle’s two oldest children, ages 11 and 8, attend Aldridge Elementary, which is a highly segregated school. Ninety-nine percent of the students at Aldridge are black, and ninety-nine percent of the students are eligible for free lunch. For Michelle, schools were a factor in her motivation to move, but certainly not the only factor that is important to

her. Other respondents expressed the idea that where you go to school is not really that important, similar to DeLuca and Rosenblatt's (2010) finding. Rhonda's 3 children attend Beethoven elementary school near Robert Taylor Homes, in which 99 percent of students are black and 97 percent are eligible for free lunch. When asked about her children's involvement in activities, Rhonda said:

In school, they on the basketball team, volleyball team. [Two of my kids] are in the accelerated reading group. So - other than that - [my youngest son is too] young to be on any sports. He just like helpin' - he like assistin' coaches on the sports and stuff like that - He just help 'em out, so, like, get the bottles for the water, and get the balls and stuff like that, get the equipment, stuff like that. [My youngest daughter is] on the peewee cheerleadin' team. She dances and cheers. [My oldest daughter is] on everything she can get on.

When asked if any of this would change once they move, Rhonda says:

Nope. Cause I'm gonna make sure they do same things. Same things. See, they involved in things in school, don't have time for streets. So that's how I feel.

In this narrative, Rhonda is not saying that she does not value school. In fact, she values it and wants her children to be actively involved in school activities. However, she does not view different schools as providing dramatically different opportunities. Similarly, when Vanessa, who lives in Henry Horner Homes, is asked if she moved now what she would think about putting her 11 and 14 year-old children in a new school she says:

Well, if I had to move now, I would leave them here for the last year. I wouldn't, you know by them already being in school, I wouldn't pull them out. I would just probably have my sister or one of 'em, you know, to drive them to school. Or I could just wait around. Or have one of my neighbors, you know, when they get out of school, ask if it alright if they stay here until I come and pick them up when I get off work. I wouldn't pull them out because, they they'd be confused. Then the teacher don't know whether to pass them or fail them because then they'll be in between. So I would let them finish the school year out.

Then asked if she has any concerns about what would happen if she moved them the following year, Vanessa responds:

Yeah, I think about that. But, I feel that all schools are alike. I mean it's basically up to the child, if they want to learn or not. I would love to see them go to college, but I'm not going to pressure them to go. I just want them to do better than I did. I mean, I would love them to say, mom, I got a scholarship. Or mom, I'm going to community college, that's fine. Finish high school, learn to take care of yourself, don't depend on a person, you have to solely depend on you. I would love to see my girls get out of high school, get a job, if that's what they want. If they want to go to college, that's fine too, but do something. Don't just say, oh I'm out of high school. Ima stay home with you mom. Nooo, you're not. So I just basically I want them to do something with their lives. It's not about going to college. I mean, it's great to see your child, to say, yeah, my child's in college, yes, yes, yes. But then, also, that could be a pressure on them. They may not want to go to college. And then you pressure them, saying, oh, you gonna go to college. You're going to college. Oh yeah, you're going to do this in college. And the first thing they get, their high school diploma...Leave home. So, mama won't push you to go to college, so. I'm not gonna pressure them. It's their decision.

### **“The opportunity is there”: Reasons for Participation in Gautreaux**

As I discussed in Chapter 3, the rental market in Chicago during the time of the Gautreaux Two program is important context for respondents' experiences because the program provided a way around the long waiting list for Section 8 vouchers. Debra describes her main reason for participating in the program:

My main reason? The opportunity of Section 8. I'm being honest. I'm being honest. I had wanted to move way before that, but when they had the opportunity to get Section 8, that's what really got me really wanting to move, because Section 8, there'd be a better quality of living, you know. But other than that, it's OK. [With Section 8] I can go and move anywhere I want to go. You know, I don't have to be stuck here, like CHA. I'll be here for seven years. Section 8, if I don't like it around here I can move somewhere else and be comfortable with it. You know, opportunity. I just think the opportunity is there. The Section 8 housing, because I feel like if I don't like Chicago no more, I'll go to Milwaukee or to California, or something like that.

For some, the Gautreaux Two program was part of a dream to have a house. When asked why she participated in the program, 32 year-old Whitney, who has spent her whole life living in Altgeld Gardens, responds:

Because like I said, when I was little, I always said I wanted two kids, a house.

So far, so long. I got the two kids, this is the opportunity to get a house. And so far, so long, so. You know, I been wantin' to move. Just cause I've been out here my life, it's like I don't know nothin' but the Gardens. That's all I know. If you try to give me directions to go somewhere, I wouldn't - I wouldn't make it. Cause I don't know nothin' but the Gardens. That's why it's hard for me to find a place, cause I've been out here all my life, and I don't know what's that's called, I don't know what's that's called, I don't know what's that's called. You know. I be ready to move.

Respondent's narratives about the possibility of regularly returning to their baseline neighborhoods varied. When asked if she thinks she would ever come back to Robert Taylor, Rhonda emphatically says never. Later, she describes what she would say to a friend who was thinking about moving to or living near Robert Taylor:

I mean, this right here is like, to me, is a trap. If you not strong enough to get up out of here, you're not. It's like people that leave and come back. Why would you leave and come back? It's gonna suck you right back up, pull you right back in. It's a trap. I hate it around here. People just so silly, and just so strung out, and just so illiterate and dumb, they don't - they don't know it's a trap. They just comin' back. How you gonna get all drunk an come back to the same place? Easy access. See, they got people monitoring down there, doin' security, hirin' out police. Only a second. I don' even let my kids speak to nobody. Keep goin'! Don' speak to my kids. Sad. I can do a movie on this buildin'. An get paid! It's sad. It's sad, it's tragic. I hate livin' here. I wake up every mornin', damn, I'm ready to move. We in the house by eight o'clock. In bed by nine. We just sleep here.

Paula is more positive about returning to Cabrini Green if she were to move.

When asked if she thinks she would come back to visit friends she says she would. Then, she is asked if she would ever move back to the Cabrini Green area and Paula says:

Yeah, probably if the real world, if I can't find another job or you know stuff got to going downhill when I move, I'll have to back. Because this is low income, you can't get no cheaper than this. But if I get out and start doing how I want it to go, I wouldn't have to come back. And I won't move back...I said real world because you know what I'm saying, everything, bills, gas, we ain't got none of that. No gas, no lights, just your phone bill and your rent. And whatever you want, cable, you know, that's what you want. That ain't no necessity. But you can live without a phone, or you can live without cable, because that ain't nothing. But if you're in the suburbs, you're going to have a phone, but I'm just saying, like that's wants. That ain't needs...You need hot water, you need gas

and you need lights.

Paula's narrative reflects a sense of wanting to move but at the same time recognizing that there could be challenges to doing so. This leads to my next discussion of obstacles that respondents faced in moving through the Gautreaux Two program.

### **“They should be more helpful”: Obstacles to Moving**

While many respondents had similar motivations for participating in Gautreaux, only about one-third of all participants in the Gautreaux Two program moved through the program, or “leased up.” As noted in Chapter 3, my analysis showed few significant demographic differences between non-movers and those who moved through the Gautreaux program. Reading the narratives of respondents it becomes clear that families who leased up and those who did not lease up had similar motivations, but some were better able to navigate obstacles than others. Pashup et al. (2005) discuss some of the reasons for the low rates of leasing up, and find that there were both external and internal obstacles that families experienced. Pashup et al. (2005) also offer policy recommendations based on these obstacles, which I address further in Chapter 7. The primary external obstacles include a tight rental market, discrimination, and bureaucratic delays - issues I addressed in Chapter 3. The primary internal obstacles included limited experience and program comprehension, large household size, and health problems.

Pashup et al. (2005) offer profiles of characteristics of successful movers as well as nonmovers. While there is a lot of overlap of the obstacles that all respondents faced, I will highlight some of the distinguishing categories that I think are particularly salient to understanding the process of mobility. The first is successful mover respondents who were living in public housing developments or scattered sites housing on Chicago's North

Side at the time of their initiation into the Gautreaux program. This geographical component is important because the North Side is where two-thirds of the city's opportunity areas were located as of 2000. Image 7 displays the distribution of opportunity area census tracts in the city of Chicago, as well as the location of public housing developments.

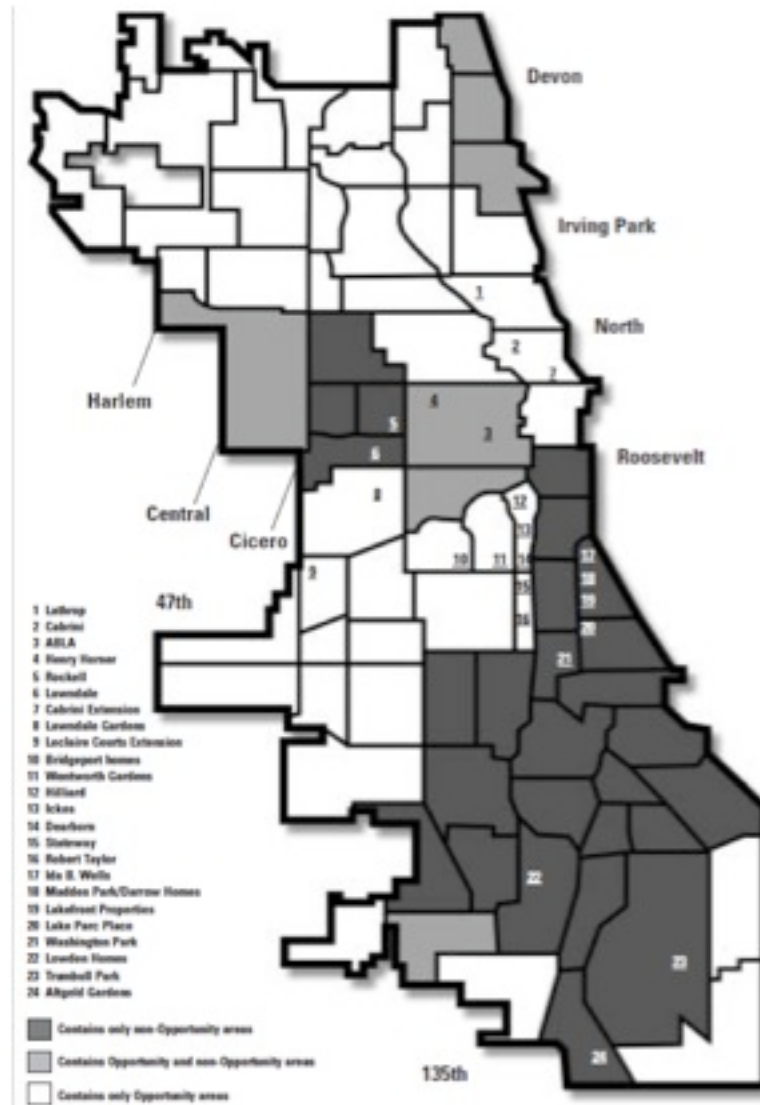


Image 7. Opportunity Areas and Public Housing Locations in Chicago

Source: Pashup et al. 2005  
 [Used with Permission from Housing Policy Debate]

This provided easy access to opportunity areas for those already living in the North Side as well as the ability to make an opportunity area move but still remain close to social networks. In contrast to this, about one-third of the non-movers had little to no exposure to the North Side and accessing these opportunity areas would have been much more complicated for them. Another important category is lack of understanding about program rules. This is linked with the external obstacle of bureaucratic delays and my discussion in Chapter 3 of the underperformance of the Leadership Council in Gautreaux Two.

Respondents' narratives about the obstacles they faced in searching for a Gautreaux unit illustrate these themes. Mia describes the ways that the Gautreaux Two program could have been improved by providing more support for negotiating with landlords:

[Leadership Council] would be more resourceful, you know, about not like just giving me a piece of paper, and I think they should be more helpful in helping you find a place to live too, especially if you have bad credit, or you have no credit, or whatever the situation is. You know, these landlords, when they look at your credit they really don't know the person. You know they're just looking at a piece of paper like, oh they're not gonna pay their rent, they're not gonna do this. And if you got somebody that's out there helping you, a program like that, and they got connections or, you know these apartments or whatever, you, you get more help and you can move in a better area, a better position to be in.

Mary did not end up moving through the Gautreaux Program, even though she was very interested in moving. She worked full-time and received little support from Leadership Council, so she was limited in the amount of time she had to spend searching for a unit. Mary feels like the program could have provided more direction about which landlords would accommodate Section 8 vouchers. She also describes the challenges of finding a unit in an area that meets the race and poverty requirements, which I address in more detail in Chapter 6. When asked what the most difficult thing about the housing

search was for her, Mary explains:

The only thing that I didn't like, and I still think the same as I did before, is the fact that how, the area that we had to live in, had to be a certain percentage of black people or the poverty level had to be a certain percentage and it was to me kind of hard finding something...But uh, that was the only thing I didn't like. That was the only thing I didn't like. A lot of people in the areas that we went to, to look for apartments they didn't want to take the Section 8. [So that made it hard.]...The only thing that I could think that would make [the program] work is if they didn't have that limitation on it. About it being a certain amount of African Americans and poverty stuff, I know they want to integrate and have it so that we can go to better schools and stuff like that, that was a good idea to me, but if more people would open up to the program so that the people could move into those areas, I'm talking about the landlords and stuff like that. And I also think that it has something to do with the people that are in the program because some people are ok and they go by the rules and do what they're supposed to do but you have like a certain people that don't and they mess it up for everybody else. And once a landlord has a bad experience, it turns them off...If I could have got that apartment that we found. That would have helped me a lot. And that man never called me. And I called him and left him three or four messages. [It would have helped] if [Leadership Council] would have had like a list of definite landlords. I mean you know, I mean I don't know how to explain. Maybe if they had a list of people that we could go to to get for sure placement. Sure placement. Because by going on our own, and they did have resources but, when you went to a different place, you know everybody was like going to the same places. So it wasn't working like because if ten people going to one apartment only one person going to get that apartment. So if they had more landlords that participated and had like a list of people that you could just go to and sit down and talk to them and get placement. That probably would have helped.

Shirley's story, which I describe in further detail in Chapter 6, also illustrates the challenges of locating a qualified unit. She explains that she was really excited about the program at first, but she did not get enough assistance in the process and felt discouraged with the delays associated with having to check each unit with an often unresponsive Leadership Council. Shirley did not end up moving through the Gautreaux program. As described in Chapter 2, while two-thirds of the qualitative sample in this study moved through the program, only about one-third of all program participants moved. This low rate of "take-up" speaks to the many obstacles respondents faced in making a Gautreaux

move.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I addressed the complicated viewpoints that respondents held about moving out of public housing projects, as well as their motivations for participating in the Gautreaux Two program. Recognizing the reasons why families choose to move out of impoverished inner city neighborhoods, and reviewing the benefits that mobility program participants may gain from moving to more resourced neighborhoods can inform policies aimed at improving these neighborhoods in ways that would actually benefit residents who remain. I address these policy implications in Chapter 7.

One of the primary reasons most respondents wanted to move out of public housing was to live in a safer neighborhood. However, families' stories about neighborhood safety and crime issues also demonstrated the ways that families navigated and managed their dangerous baseline neighborhoods. Many parents' narratives about wanting to move to safe neighborhoods emphasized their desire to live in a safe environment for the sake of their children. Hoping to move to a good quality unit was another common theme that often related to children, primarily wanting more space for children.

Respondents' narratives about the role of schools in mobility decisions were varied, with some parents placing a high priority on moving to a neighborhood with a good quality school, and other parents deemphasizing variation in school quality. I further address issues related to schools in Chapters 5 and 6. Respondents also had very complicated narratives about the influence of social ties on their mobility decisions. For

some, negative social ties were a motivating factor for moving out of public housing. In Chapter 5, I analyze the positive aspects of social ties.

Finally, I highlighted some of the key obstacles families faced in moving through the Gautreaux program. Given the relatively low take-up rate among Gautreaux respondents, these factors are an important part of the processes and outcomes of the program. In Chapter 7, I connect these mobility obstacles to potential policy solutions.

As discussed in this chapter, respondents had a variety of motivations for participating in the Gautreaux program. Many of these motivations relate to respondents' actual transitions to their Gautreaux neighborhoods. In the next chapter, I address the complexity of experiences respondents had in their opportunity areas, as well as factors in secondary mobility decisions.

## CHAPTER 5: COMPLEXITY OF MOVING EXPERIENCES

### Beginning narrative

I: *Sounds like you have a wonderful family.*

R: *I do and since I been sick and been out here, they been especially nice to especially my daughter 'cause me and her -*

I: *Now where does your daughter live? In the city?*

R: *She lives in the city. But she's out here every day. Everyday because her son been going to school out here with me 'cause I baby-sit and she aint got nobody. So I send him to school out here. She bring him in the morning. She pick him up in the evening.*

I: *And how old is he?*

R: *He's 10. She bring him in the morning.*

I: *So he's real close to [your other grandson] I mean they're real close in age.*

R: *Uh huh they are. They pretty close too.*

I: *Now how's [your grandson] doing in the schools out here?*

R: *Real...that's the only part that I really hates to move. 'Cause he doing really, really good in school. He doing better in school out here than he ever did in his whole entire life. Because out here he may...I think he got about 2 Cs. He got As and Bs. First he was having problems 'bout yakking his mouth. But the teachers work with you over here. He had problem talking, talking, talking. She called me a couple times on it. She put him on punishment a couple days. Put him on punish, what they have 4 days without the bus. He had to walk. [Now] he really doing good. I mean real good. His grades is gone up.*

I: *Any problems in school or anything?*

R: *No, no.*

I: *No fighting?*

R: *No only thing I can say is he had been in a couple little arguments in fighting. And she put him on probation for a couple days. Then she got, the teacher got on him. Then she called me. I told you any little thing happen call me. You know don't let it get on and on. And I talked to him and he know he going to get punishment. And he you know and he going to get punished in that school too 'cause teacher tell me what's going on. I haven't had to went to school but twice. And that was into a conference that he had did something up there. 'Cause up here if you do something they call you the next day into a conference. I been twice. Over there I was going, the teacher was calling everyday all day long. Because they wasn't doing anything really. But out here Brian been getting*

*good grades. That's the only part that I hate about moving. As I told my daughter I was going to probably look for something in this area 'till he graduate.*

*I: Yeah that would be...*

*R: In his benefit because he's doing good. And my daughter's son he have problems with speech. He get his words out. He have problems with speech and he's doing excellent and then he's hyper too. And he's doing excellent too. He's doing better than [my other grandson].*

*I: So his school his performance has really improved too.*

*R: Really improved. That's the only part that I hate leaving out of here.*

*I: So what does your daughter say would she like to see you stay out here?*

*R: Yes she would. She said, she told me she said you ought to just go on with your landlord for another year. Least another year. I said I don't want to even see [my landlord] never in my life. But if she had fixed the little things I would have stayed because I didn't come out here to move in a year. 'Cause I hate to move. But she too lousy. Because she don't give me no problem. 'Cause I don't even see her. I have to call her to come get her money. Every month for rent. But she don't fix nothing. And it's cold in here.*

*I: So it's hot in the summer.*

*R: Hot in the summer and freezing in the wintertime. Because it's really cold out here it's just kind of nice outside. Last couple days I had to leave, well I don't leave the stove on while upstairs I put it on when I'm down here. I can have that going every morning and practically all night. But upstairs is nice...so I keep the heat on 68 and it's comfortable up there. But it's freezing because the only radiator I got is this one here. That little one right here and one in the bathroom.*

### **Introduction**

Olivia lived in LeClaire Courts and was given custody of her grandson when her son was killed. One of her primary motivations for moving through Gautreaux was to give her grandson a better education. Her move to Blue Island provided that, and in this narrative she describes how her grandson is doing much better in the schools in Blue Island and that making a secondary move will potentially negatively affect her grandson. However, she feels she has to move because of the lack of transportation in the Gautreaux area as well as bad experiences with her landlord and the poor quality of her unit.

Olivia's narrative illustrates the complexity of respondents' experiences in their new neighborhoods. In this chapter, I discuss the varied experiences of families in their Gautreaux placement neighborhoods. I describe the factors that contributed to secondary moves as well as the factors that influenced families' ability to remain in their placement neighborhoods. I focus on social ties, spatial issues, financial factors, landlords and unit quality, and children's experiences in neighborhoods. I describe each of these factors, and then conclude by presenting the different degrees to which secondary movers and stayers experience these factors.

### **“I can't hit no one up for help”: Social Ties in Neighborhood Transitions**

Many respondents who moved through the Gautreaux program initially relocated to areas where they did not have any family or friends, and for many, transportation issues made it difficult to visit these kin networks. This resulted not only in a sense of social isolation for respondents, but also removed them from their primary support networks, particularly for child-care. Some respondents also had ill family members for whom they cared, and living far away made it difficult for them to fulfill their care responsibilities. It is important to bear in mind the discussion in Chapter 4 about the negative aspects of social ties, as the influence of social networks was complicated for many respondents. In fact, the constraints of social ties are evident in some respondents' narratives about the impact of social ties on their mobility decisions, including Latisha's story.

#### *Social Isolation*

Latisha's placement neighborhood was in the suburbs, and the distance from her family made it difficult for her to fulfill her familial responsibilities. She was the primary caregiver for her diabetic mother, and her main reason for moving back to Chicago was to care for her. When asked why she moved back, Latisha said:

Well for one reason, my mom. She had got sick, and this was one of the reasons why I moved back to Chicago, so I could kinda help my mom out, you know. And I just started lookin,' cause she had got real sick real bad. She's a diabetic and she's partially blind and she had like four mini strokes. And then she had, her hemoglobin was low. You know? It was, it was like she was goin' – you know, she was gettin' down. She, you know, just everything was outta control. So by me runnin' back and forth on the train, back and forth, you know – [it was hard].

Latisha was socially isolated in her placement neighborhood as her family did not visit her often because of the distance, and after making her secondary move, Latisha was better able to care for her mother. Thus, the distance made her fulfillment of familial responsibilities untenable, leading her to become a secondary mover back to a non-opportunity area.

To some extent, all of the respondents who discussed distance from kin as a problem were socially isolated. However, many respondents were not only far from their family and friend networks; they also did not immediately connect with their neighbors and were not involved in neighborhood activities. Some said they just lived in their unit and went elsewhere to socialize, so they did not fully engage with the neighborhood or develop new neighborhood networks. Others did not feel completely accepted in their new neighborhoods, which made it difficult for them to form friendships. Some respondents saw their Gautreaux neighborhoods as transitional and were just biding their time until they could move again. For these respondents, the ultimate goal was getting a voucher that would enable them to move wherever they wanted. As I discussed in

Chapter 4, the demand for housing vouchers has always outstripped their supply, so some families were willing to move for a year to an opportunity area so they could subsequently move on to where they wanted to live.

Talia, for example, considered her placement neighborhood to be too far from her family and saw her Gautreaux move as temporary. She says:

I'm so used to the South Side. I've been there all my life. This is something new to me. I don't want to get to know this place. Nope, because I'm ready to move. So I ain't trying to get to know this place.

When asked where she wanted to move, Talia responded: "South Side, like southwest. Like over there where my mama lives." Talia made a secondary move back to a neighborhood near the area where, prior to their demolition, the Robert Taylor Homes stood. Robert Taylor Homes was where she grew up.

Tara continued to work and take classes on the South Side of Chicago after her Gautreaux move to the North Side, just as she had before the move. Thus, she spent a lot of time commuting and, not surprisingly, found the location of her Gautreaux unit to be very inconvenient. Few neighborhoods near her school or job had qualified as opportunity areas. The familiarity and ease of her routine of working, going to school, and shopping that she had developed on the South Side before her move is why she maintained ties with her baseline neighborhood on the South Side, and did not even try to become familiar with her North Side Gautreaux neighborhood. She explains:

When I go to the show, even though there's a show right here, I'll go to the show on the South Side. When I go out to eat, I go out to eat on the South Side. So, there's no type of activity or anything going...I'm not even familiar with this North Side. All I can do is get to my house, and back out to where I need to go. I'm not familiar; I couldn't tell you how to get to a store around here.

Not surprisingly, Tara ended up making a secondary move to the South Side of Chicago to a non-opportunity area to be closer to her family and her job.

One of the primary things respondents missed about their baseline neighborhoods was the regular social interaction they had with their neighbors in the housing projects.

Francine, who moved from Ickes to the suburbs, said:

Actually, like I said, since I been here, I don't feel I been happy, because this place depresses me, because there's nothin' to do, nothin', you know? [I] can't get out much because the buses stop runnin' early. I don't have a car. I don't know how to drive. So that's another bad thing, you know? So I don't get out.

When asked what she missed about Ickes, Francine said:

Just bein' able to go outside, sit down and talk. Because in the projects you can sit down and talk to everybody. Someone's always walkin' around. Here you sit on your porch and that's it, you know? It's always somethin' goin' on in the project, there's never nothin' goin' on here. So, yeah I do miss that, but the projects itself, no, I don't miss [the projects]. Since I been here [my health] seems to me it's been worser, yeah, because I guess, I don't know. It was like when I was livin', you know, down there in the projects, I got out more and did more, you know? So it helped my strength, whatever. Now here it's just like blah, you know? I don't do nothin', it seem like I depressin' myself, makin' myself sick.

Tina also explained how difficult it is to be removed from a neighborhood where neighbors know you and are willing to provide support. When asked what she missed about her baseline neighborhood, Tina said:

Well, the people, because I know a lot of people. Like all over the neighborhood. I know a lot people. Where, it's not like here. Ok, if I get stuck I can't hit no one [up for help]. You know what I'm saying? Over there everybody knows me. [If] I need [something] or I don't have any money and I need a ride to the emergency [room]; there's always somebody because they all know me.

Felicia echoed these sentiments of missing her support network in her old neighborhood of Altgeld Gardens:

[I miss] being able to just walk out and talk to my friends, because here it's just quiet. That's the only thing I miss, is being able like to walk out. And I know people but I really don't know nobody here. So it's like you have to budget better than you did before, because there you didn't have to worry about it, because you could just walk out the door and say, 'Hey, I need.'

Many of the Gautreaux Two respondents who made secondary moves felt disconnected from their primary support networks in their new neighborhoods and were unable to replace these with social ties in their placement neighborhoods. When asked what she thought about the Gautreaux program, Nikki, who moved from LeClaire Courts to the suburbs, said:

I mean, I understand what they were trying to do. I do understand what they were trying to do and they were hoping to give people better opportunities, but to force people away, to force people away from their family, their support system. You know, just common things that people need to have. It's not beneficial. It's not beneficial and it causes more harm than good.

For many of the secondary movers, wanting to live closer to their families and to others in their networks who would offer ready support was a primary reason for their decision to make a secondary move, and influenced the location of the second move. Sophie's Gautreaux unit was in Rogers Park, a neighborhood in Chicago's far North Side, and both she and her children missed the proximity to South Side family and friends. Sophie said:

[I'm planning to] move. I want to go back down south where I come from. I don't too much care for the North Side. You know, now...I find my way around, but still, there ain't nothing like home. Well I don't have family over here. I got to go all the way out to visit them.

Thus, Sophie still considers the South Side to be her home because of her familial ties and familiarity with the area.

### *Child-Care*

One of the primary ways in which removal from social networks was difficult for respondents was lack of access to previous forms of child-care. Many of the respondents used informal child-care networks no longer accessible from their new neighborhoods or which required long commutes to drop their children off with family or friends, and this created pressure in their daily schedules. Nikki's Gautreaux unit was in the suburbs, and she has three kids. She had issues with child-care and had to travel quite a distance to drop the kids off at their grandparents' house when she was working and they were not in school. Nikki explains this difficulty:

I don't have anybody to get these kids. I don't have the money to take 'em to the daycare center over here, you know? The transportation. . . This place won't take 'em until this time. By the time I get them there, and I get back on my route, I'm late for work.

Moving closer to family to receive child-care assistance was common among those who made secondary moves. When asked what her primary reason for making a secondary move was, Francine said:

Actually, to be closer to my family, actually, and the benefit of somethin', you know? When I get sick, you know, I have someone [to] watch my daughter. So, that's really the number one priority.

Many respondents discussed the ways that they had to weigh the pros and cons of life in their placement neighborhoods. Tonya's story illustrates this idea of tradeoffs as

she explains what she lost and gained by moving. When asked how her Gautreaux neighborhood in Chicago compared to Altgeld Gardens, Tonya says:

We love it here... When I came here I lost my support system. Because my job was there, all my baby sitters were there, my convenient rides were there. I lost a lot, but I gained so much more as far as better children. A more diverse population. I like the diversity. Nicer neighbors... [The neighbors] are so helpful. They are so nice... Yeah, my neighbor down here, she takes him to school sometimes. It's just so totally different.

Tonya goes on to explain that her children are better in this neighborhood, and when asked to explain what she means by that, she says:

I like, personality wise. Their personality is just, seeing them just bloom. Their personalities are just, I just see the personalities. [Before] there, they were very mean, they wasn't mean, they just were very defensive. Just very defensive, and now I can see the conflict resolution, it's not so much we'll fight each other, get this over with and... I can even say that [my son] wears... he don't want to resolve things by violence and being mad... And I can see it in [my other son too].

Generally, respondents often had mixed feelings in that they missed their baseline social networks but were also glad to be away from some of the more negative aspects of these networks. Rhonda's narrative illustrates this complicated issue of both missing and not missing her baseline neighborhood of the Robert Taylor Homes. When asked if she goes back to Robert Taylor to visit people she repeatedly and emphatically says "no."

She also says:

Don't get me wrong, I hated the projects, but I miss them. You know, you miss some of the people that were over there and things like you get into a new environment. Don't get me wrong, it's not bad [here]. You get to a new environment and you just got to adapt, so that's basically what we're doing now is trying to adapt.

#### *Development of New Social Ties*

Of the Gautreaux movers in the sample, 47 percent were still in their Gautreaux units by 2005. Comparing the stories of those who moved on from their Gautreaux neighborhood (secondary movers) with the stories of those who remained in their Gautreaux neighborhood (stayers) once again highlights the importance of social networks, child-care, and transportation in shaping the experiences of respondents in their Gautreaux neighborhoods. The secondary movers appreciated many of the same things about their Gautreaux neighborhoods as the stayers did. Likewise, the respondents who stayed in their placement neighborhoods faced many of the same challenges that the secondary movers did, but were better able to find ways to adapt. These stayer respondents either had family or friends in their placement neighborhoods or were still able to see their family and friends despite the distance, and still received network support from them (i.e., child care). Some respondents specifically chose their placement neighborhoods because they already had family or friends living in those areas.

Melissa moved to the suburbs from LeClaire Courts, on Chicago's southwest side, and some of her friends from this area moved through Gautreaux Two to the suburbs as well. These friends really helped Melissa with her transition to the suburbs. She says:

Yeah, [I have] friends that came from my old neighborhood. [They live] about five minutes [away], and I go visit them, go to the store and stuff like that. It helps me adjust more, you know, because I know somebody from my old neighborhood here.

Beatrice explains that she chose her Gautreaux unit in the suburbs specifically for its proximity to her family:

The reason why, we just looked [in] this area, [was] because I live[d] in this area. And it wasn't too far from my aunt, or you know, her sisters and stuff like that. So we wanted to stay in the same area with our family right down the street.

For these stayers, having family and friends in the area that they moved to was a significant factor in their ability to adjust to their new areas and to continue to receive crucial network support.

### *Neighborhood Networks*

The stayer respondents were more likely to create social ties within their new neighborhoods by getting involved in neighborhood activities and making friends with their neighbors than were the secondary movers. Vanessa moved to the far North Side of Chicago and made friends with some of her neighbors. She even watched one of her neighbor's kids. In contrast to the stories of several who made secondary moves, Vanessa said that she got outside more after moving to her Gautreaux neighborhood:

I mean, I do more things than I used to. The only thing I used to do, was either go to the show or go to my mom's house or something like that. But here, I take more walks. I'm an inside person, but I find myself now going outside more. I'll walk down the bike path. Or I may decide to walk further up Sheridan into Evanston. I find myself outside doing a lot more walking than [before]. Everywhere I went there, I would take the bus. It's just, I learn the neighborhood by walking around and learning the different little things, the activities and stuff they have in the neighborhood. So I find myself getting outside more here, around here, than I did [before].

Evelyn moved to an opportunity area on the southwest side of Chicago, and she quickly developed a strong neighborhood network. On the day that she moved into her unit, her neighbors introduced themselves and showed her around the neighborhood: "I had a couple of people in the neighborhood to show me around, different little places, little social groups, where to vote, play bingo, stuff like that." This helped Evelyn feel connected to both her neighbors and the resources in the area and made the transition to

her new neighborhood smoother. She took advantage of the opportunities around her, and having her neighbors connect her to the area resources was crucial to her adjustment.

Cynthia explains how her neighbor helps her out. When asked what she likes best about her new neighborhood she says:

Well, the few that I get along with, and uh, when I'm down, they really kick in and do what they need to do and help me out. ..yesterday. I didn't, you know, I was kind of running short on some groceries and my neighbor said, come over here and grocery shop... Anything. Ground beef, chicken, whatever.

Cynthia goes on to explain that about two weeks ago her car was having problems and her neighbor took her to the auto parts store to get a part for the car and another neighbor helped her put it on.

### *Tradeoffs*

Lashonda explains that her reasons for making a secondary move from Alsip to a non-opportunity area were related to issues of child-care, social ties and transportation. However, she is considering moving back to an opportunity area in the future. When asked why she moved to the secondary neighborhood, which is nearby her baseline neighborhood of Ickes, she said:

Actually, I didn't have any help. Because my mom still stays there, and as far as with the schools...when I moved, [my son] wasn't at the age where he can go to school. And he was at the age where he had to go to like, pre...like, Headstart or something, but like, the schools that I went to, they either said that they didn't have any openings or you know, it was going to be from 8:30 a.m. to 11:30 a.m. and that didn't give me any time to work, and it was far from my house, and I didn't have a car or anything. And then as far as the busses didn't go that way, all the way the way that it was going. It was either I ride the bus so far, then have to walk so far. And, you know, as far as 8:30 a.m. to 11:30 a.m. that didn't give me any time to do anything, and tried to put him in a day care and they said that the wait, I had to be on a waiting list and everything like that, so basically I was just at home doing nothing. Yeah, so I was just like ok, if I go close to my mom, then I can put him in school by her, then I can be able to work...But actually I want to

go back [Alsip]. I loved where I stayed at, out there.

When asked why she would like to move back to an opportunity area she explains:

Actually it was the whole total different like, community thing. Just totally different from where I came from, which I came from the projects so it was a big huge change, and a big adjustment, but it worked out, and I found out that I liked that better than being you know... The neighborhood, it's pretty quiet, you know, I didn't know anybody, but...because I'm always to myself, you know the neighbors see me, they 'Hi, stop and talk for a while.' And I'm always on the go, so they see me in the morning if I leave, and they won't see me until the next two days or something like that, so you know, it's landlord trying to catch up with me too, 'cause I'm always on the go, so I really never got a chance to really, really meet with the visitors, I mean, you know the tenants or whatever, but...it was quiet, I didn't have any problems with anybody. No hanging out and all that stuff like that, it was always police's around, checking to see if everything was going good. You know, just driving by. And, it was just, it was real nice. It was real nice, I really, really liked it there. No commotion, no fighting, no...no dirt, no ugh...no filth, no nothing, just really nice.

Lashonda's narrative illustrates the tradeoffs involved in neighborhood mobility decisions. Her discussion of transportation is reflective of the connection between issues related to social ties and transportation, and the next section addresses transportation specifically.

### **“That's too far”: Spatial Issues**

Gautreaux Two respondents who moved farther away from the city proper had a difficult time with transportation, as public transportation becomes less available and more sporadic in these areas. Owning an automobile was a prohibitive expense for many of these families, so reliance on public transportation was necessary for many. Some respondents complained about more minor issues of parking. Others found the lack of good transportation and distance from relatives to be incredibly difficult and was a primary reason for moving. Yolanda explains how lack of parking was a deterrent to her family visiting her in the suburbs:

[My family] don't come too much. Because when they come, [there's] nowhere to park. Yeah, [there's] nowhere to park so they like stoppin' me from havin' visitors. And then when they do come, you know, because from here to Chicago, it don't seem too far to some people, but some of 'em say it's too far to be, too far to drive. And then they come, [and they] have to turn around an' go back home [because there is no parking]. The parking is crazy out here.

Some respondents had difficulty getting to their jobs, child-care, and their children's schools. When she moved to her Gautreaux unit in the suburbs, Lashonda, who I introduced earlier, kept the same job at Old Navy that she had when she lived in her baseline neighborhood. However, a few months after making the Gautreaux move, she lost her job because she had a lot of transportation problems and was often late for work. Living closer to jobs was one of the reasons for Lashonda's secondary move back to a non-opportunity area in the city.

For those who had cars, the long commute time was very cumbersome. Many respondents also had a hard time with shopping and visiting health care providers; thus, navigating the opportunity areas was difficult. Some respondents lacked the support network of people who used to give them rides, or they used to live closer to these services. Many respondents still utilized their baseline area services, including health care services, and the distance to these presented challenges. Tara still used the hospital in her baseline area and never became familiar with her Gautreaux neighborhood resources: "I don't even know where the nearest hospital is. No. I would have to drive all the way to the South Side if I had [an] emergency. I would have to go to South Side."

During her search process, Shana was already thinking about the importance of transportation. When asked where she is looking for a Gautreaux unit, she says:

North, like where I said my mother lives...No, I don't want to go nowhere in the

suburbs...That's it, because I don't want to go nowhere else. I can't move too far because I don't have transportation. And I'll be too away from my mother and my family where they can watch her.

When asked if she would rather stay in Cabrini than move to the suburbs, Shana responds:

Yeah, because that's too far, and I ain't got no, have a car and uh-uh. And then I have to hurry up and rush somewhere, uh-uh, and then there ain't a lot of hospitals too far out there.

Public transportation was a primary reason why Joan left her Gautreaux area in the suburbs to move back to Chicago. She explains:

What made me want to come back to the city? Well, the transportation. Transportation-wise, I don't have a car. It was like, if I'm in the city, [there are] buses here, buses there. I like that.

For respondents without vehicles and who are removed from their social networks of people who used to give them rides, the need for accessible public transportation was a driving factor in their decision to move back to Chicago from the suburbs.

The respondents who stayed in their placement neighborhoods found ways to make transportation work – they either had cars or lived in areas with good public transportation. Others received rides from family or friends who lived nearby. Many respondents appreciated the convenience of the areas they lived in. Another reason that Evelyn loved her Gautreaux neighborhood so much is the convenience of it:

I love it, 'cause everything's right here. The store's on the corner, restaurant's right up the street. Either way you go, restaurants around, little places. Bus stop right outside. Don't have a car, drop you off, so, nope...love everything. Love everything.

Some respondents found opportunity areas close to their jobs, and this helped make the transition easier. Lauren felt like she got her job at Walmart because her

Gautreaux unit is close to Walmart: “If I would have never moved out here, I wouldn’t have never had this job. You know, ‘cause I would have never looked down here.”

Adele also found a Gautreaux unit closer to her job in the suburbs. She explains: “So, that’s the advantage of me moving, because when they gave [the voucher] to me and I could move, I said, ‘Well, let me see if I can find something closer to work.’”

Respondents who did not have to travel long distances for work or child-care and who either had cars or the support of people who gave them rides were much more able to adjust to their new neighborhoods than those who had difficulties with transportation. Adequate access to transportation was a crucial factor keeping respondents in their Gautreaux neighborhoods.

Transportation also created financial strain for many families. Lauren, who later ended up getting the job at Walmart, owns a car and she kept her job in the city when she first moved to Villa Park in the suburbs. She explains how moving to Villa Park initially affected her financial situation:

It’s affected it a lot. Traveling back and forth to the city, that gas ain’t no joke... Yeah, I pay LOT more. I got to fill up almost every two days. It takes a half tank going and back. And that’s just for one day. Just think I got four days out of the week to work. So you know that’s a lot.

Transportation issues impacted many respondents’ financial stability, and next I focus more specifically on the other financial components of respondent’s neighborhood experiences.

### **“It just kept piling up”: Financial and Access Issues**

#### *Financial concerns*

As Popkin (2010) finds from her research on the impact of Hope VI, voucher holders often experience financial difficulties. A large part of this, she contends, is that many public housing residents are not used to paying utilities, as that is typically included in rent in public housing. I find that Gautreaux Two respondents experienced financial difficulties related to utility payments as well as a number of other domains, including rent increases, transportation, employment, and access to other social services and organizations.

Theoretically, voucher holders pay the same proportion of their income for rent as public housing residents do. However, in practice this is often not the case. Many of these families had lived in the same public housing unit for many years, and though rent is supposed to be adjusted as income changes, the Chicago Housing Authority had apparently failed to adjust most of the respondents' rents upward when they secured jobs or better pay. Thus, at baseline, some were paying a far lower percent of their income than they ought to have been. Many respondents were unprepared when, upon lease-up, their income was reassessed and they ended up paying sharply higher rents as a result. Also, not all the utility costs were covered, and when tenants' utility bills skyrocketed in hot summer or cold winter months, many had difficulty absorbing the income shock.

Lisa, who made a secondary move, had difficulty paying all her bills in her Gautreaux unit in the suburbs after moving from Altgeld Gardens. Her story involves the potential mental health effects of the financial stressors involved with moving. She was asked when she started thinking about leaving her Gautreaux unit in Round Lake, and she responded that the last few months she was living there she was experiencing anxiety attacks. When asked the about these anxiety attacks, Lisa explains:

Well, besides the bills, was like, oh girl, \$700. Bills for gas... Yeah, because I had to pay all the utilities, water, gas, lights, cable, phone, everything, so it's like one month I could try to pay this part of something and not pay this part, and it was just getting to be too much. My family, they wouldn't come out there, you know, see because that was a long drive to get to me, so if I needed some help or something, I was on my own. So I was like no. It just wasn't working for me... I was having the attacks when I first got there, you know, like a couple of months, when everything started to... pile, and it started little by little, and I was having them, but I didn't know that's what it was... and I'm just thinking maybe I'm just tripping out or something and you know, having those little depression spells and be crying because I just was, I couldn't deal with being there. So it just kept piling up, kept piling up, kept piling up, kept piling up, and I'm like oh no, mm mm, I had to get the hell out of there.

Anita also experienced financial setbacks in her Gautreaux neighborhood in the North Side of Chicago. Although she would have liked to stay there, she could not manage to financially and made a secondary move. When asked what made her decide to move from her Gautreaux neighborhood she explains the challenges of paying utilities, paying for a parking spot, as well as rent increases:

Because moving on the Section 8 was a totally new experience for me, because in Lathrop we didn't pay utilities, so my utilities was included in my rent. And I think the building was so old, I loved the building, but it was an old building, it had a lot of cracks and was drafty. I found myself within that first year, a gas bill of almost \$1,000. And I was like, I can't... and I had to pay lights and my cooking gas, so it was like, I found myself not having a telephone because I was trying to pay the gas bill, the light bill... found myself kind of getting behind in just regular bills like my car note, my car insurance, stuff like that. I'm like, no, you got to have your car insurance and you got to pay for your car and so it was like, I... I would have loved to stay there had the landlord maybe came and did some insulating, because I felt real safe there.

Anita further describes her rent increase experience:

I just got a little bitty teeny tiny little raise in time for CHAC to do their redetermination and it went to \$759 now but I have to pay... I was paying \$660, \$669 and now it's moved to \$769... Well you know what the program that I'm under they give, I had got like a 3% raise from cost of living. And then the program I'm in Early Head Start teacher, so every year they do, they give us a raise too. So it's like I got two raises. Actually it was one 'cause they combined it

all. But that's, that's what it was. So it went up to that. And I'm like, man that's a whole month's, a whole pay. It is a whole paycheck. I have a few dollars left but I was like this getting a little bit too out of control you know.

Anita was paying \$510 at Lathrop Homes before moving. She is now planning to move to Scattered Sites housing where she expects her rent to drop, utilities will be deducted from her rent, and she will not have to pay for parking.

Sophie also experienced a rent increase and difficulty paying utilities. She explains:

Well [my cooking gas bill has] been like 65 now. I'm just hopin' it'll go down just a little. Yeah, it been \$65. It ain't really been too, too too high. I hope it don't get higher...My elec, my electric bill's been like \$95, \$94. I just paid \$94 June the first, and last month was like \$90-somethin'. Well this apartment's [rent is] \$1175 but my portion is \$262.

Rent in Sophie's baseline unit was \$74 a month, and when asked how she is managing that difference she says:

I don't know, I just, you know, one a wing and a prayer, cause I don't even know how I made it this far. If I can just do six more months, I'll really be ahead.

### *Employment*

Employment issues also had a financial impact. Maria explains the role distance from her job played in her decision to make a secondary move. Her job was in the city and when she moved up north through Gautreaux, she was getting up at 3:00 or 4:00 am to take the el to work everyday. She could not keep up that pace, so she quit her job. Maria could not afford to live in her Gautreaux neighborhood without employment so she made a secondary move. However, she explains that she would have stayed if she had been able to secure a closer job.

Wanda also had to quit her job when she moved to the opportunity area because

of the distance, and had trouble finding another job. Explaining the job she held when she moved to the North Side, she says:

I had to be to work at 9:00 a.m. and I, and work was over at 6:00 p.m. So, the twins were in daycare from whatever time I would have got them there to 6:00 p.m. So I would have had to pay almost \$10 every 15 minutes, per child, until I got there. So which coming from 95<sup>th</sup> or the Dan Ryan or whatever, it would have been [an additional \$80 a day], and I don't even think they would have allowed it no way. 'Cause they had a life of their own, you know but...I was working there so I had to quit, you know. I had to quit that and after that I wasn't working at all, you know. I wasn't working at all.

### *Access to Social Services and Organizations*

Some respondents faced challenges in accessing social services and organizations in their placement neighborhoods. These access issues are often related to children. In her analysis of the same qualitative sample of the Gautreaux Two program, Zuberi (2010) finds that almost 75 percent of families had their kids involved in activities in the baseline neighborhoods. Of the families who moved through the Gautreaux program, only about 33 percent of children were involved in neighborhood activities. Zuberi (2010) finds that some of the barriers families experienced included lack of programs for low-income children, high cost of activities, and transportation difficulties.

Lisa really likes Round Lake, the neighborhood she moved to through Gautreaux. She feels like there are a lot of resources for her children, but explains the challenge of the fees associated with the activities she wants her children to get involved in:

See here [my kids] can, they can really do something with their self, you know what I'm saying? Got so many things the kids can get into out here. They have Girl Scouts, they got the Park District. The Park District offer everything. Tap dancing, swimming, gymnastics, karate, they got everything.

When asked if her kids have gotten into any new activities since being in Round Lake she

says:

[My daughter] is in the, being with this mentor...I don't know who the person is, but she just, they just started doing that, and she goes every Tuesday at school. The person comes to school so she stays in school till 5 o'clock with her mentor. And she's okay with that, but she wanted to do the basketball. And I told her I'm not paying no \$65, okay?... 'Cause you got to pay for every activity out here. And they ain't cheap... I'm like, well, y'all got to wait.

Lisa explains that she looked for reduced rates programs, and she could not find any such program. As I described Lisa's story earlier, she ended up making a secondary move, largely due to the financial stresses of living in Round Lake.

Yvonne had a similar experience of finding that many services in her Gautreaux suburban neighborhood of Hanover Park are not financially accessible, and she also describes a lack of services for low-income families. When asked what she misses about her old neighborhood in LeClaire Courts, she says:

Nothing. You know what? The only thing I do miss is the after-school program. I'm having a hard time finding it out here. You know, now if I lived in Cook County, I really wouldn't have no problem. But DuPage County is like much more expensive, much more expensive. I mean even down to like my water bill. My friend's water bill will be like \$50, and she gets one probably every three months. I get one every month and mine is like \$157. So it's a big difference, I mean where she may pay \$5 for this, I may be paying \$15 for this, you know, so that's the only thing that I do miss. There was like much more services. The services out here, it's like it's really not to help the low income. They say it is, but it's not. You know, whereas when I was there, you know, they had a lot of different, you know.

While many respondents were dealing with the increased financial stress of living in their Gautreaux units and neighborhoods, many also found their units to not be worth the extra costs associated with living in them. While theoretically respondents might be willing to pay more for a higher quality unit, many respondents found their units and landlords to be severely lacking. I now address the landlord and unit issues that respondents experienced.

**“You think if you move from the projects it’s going to be much better”:  
Landlord and Unit Issues**

As discussed in Chapter 4, the hope of a higher quality unit was a primary draw of the Gautreaux program. For some families, good experiences with their landlords or units were a significant factor in their satisfaction with their Gautreaux neighborhood. Stayers often spoke at length about how much they enjoyed the size of their units, or how well they had been maintained, and although some had minor problems, most were satisfied. Beatrice, a stayer who I earlier described as choosing her Gautreaux neighborhood because of its proximity to her family, explains why she loves her Gautreaux unit in the suburbs:

Because sometimes you can get a place and you don’t feel at home. I felt comfortable as soon as I set my foot in here. The first day I seen it, I said, ‘Oh Lord, let me get it.’ And I felt like I’ve been here for years.

Kyra also a stayer, explains how she likes the spaciousness of her Gautreaux unit in the southwest side of Chicago compared to her unit in LeClaire Courts, a West Side CHA development:

I love this apartment. It’s, it’s nice. It’s real big and roomy; it’s a lot of rooms and a lot of space, you get a lot of space. It’s just like, you run to your own little room, they be in their room. It’s just quiet. I just like this house.

Several families developed friendships with their landlords, and told stories of landlords delivering gift baskets and treats for the children during the holidays. For example, Melissa rates her landlord in her suburban placement neighborhood a 10 out of 10, saying:

I would say [my landlord’s] a ten, because he’s...he’s not the type of landlord that hinders you. You know, he do his thing. If there’s a problem, he comes, fix it and he’s gone, you know? He don’t try to see how, you know, be nosy or is she clean

or is she nasty. He don't do that, he's fine, he's real nice. He likes kids. He used to bring them like taffy... Round this time, he's going to come with taffy apples or something. He's real nice.

Lauren's story is quite unique and compelling. Earlier I described how she was able to secure a job close to her Gautreaux neighborhood. After living there for awhile, she decided she wanted to move to a bigger unit than her placement unit. Her landlord did not want to lose her as a tenant, however, so her landlord asked what she wanted in a unit and then he bought a house that fit her criteria and then rented it to her.

One respondent, a stayer, described how her landlord had been willing to hold off on collecting the rent while she caught up on other bills. In addition, sometimes landlords helped their tenants integrate socially into the neighborhood. Laura's landlord of her unit in the southwest side of Chicago even encouraged her to become involved with real estate and provided her with information about taking real estate classes; she remained in this unit.

However, many respondents did not have glowing reports about their landlords and units. In fact, one of the respondents' primary complaints was landlord problems. Many respondents complained that their landlords did not maintain their units or buildings adequately, and most were able to describe multiple incidents where requests for maintenance were ignored. Some respondents reported that their landlords were overly intrusive, and others said they would have stayed but their landlords refused to renew their lease or sold the building to another landlord who was unwilling to continue renting to them.

Jennifer explains that she felt like her placement unit landlord judged her for being from the projects. She explains:

[My landlord's] offering, you know, giving people opportunity that have Section 8 to move to her apartment. But at the same time, I don't know what experiences that she has had in the past with her tenants and stuff like that, or just be judgmental or whatever. Now before me and her did have an argument, she said she used to live in the projects, but still, you don't talk to me, like I had to tell her when we talked on the phone, I am grown. You're not going to talk to me any kind of way because you just feel you can do that. I'm like it's how you talk to me. And she didn't like that either because I told her. I said I really don't like how you talk to me. It's like you constantly, you always got something to say. You're always trying to tell me what to do...And like I can't handle that. And I can't allow that...It's like labeling me and being it's like she's assuming that I don't clean my house, like I don't mop, I don't sweep. I don't do my dishes and stuff like that. It's like how would you know that? You're not in my apartment. And like I said, I don't have garbage lying all over my apartment. The apartment that I looked at, to be truthful with you, the apartments I looked at before I saw this apartment I didn't like. And there were apartments in here that actually they weren't cleaned up. They weren't cleaned out, and the landlord was letting me look in them, and they were saying just to show me the last tenant, how they treated the apartment, and they looked terrible. You know, they had food, dirty diapers all over the floor. And I'm like, you know and it's a shame, but don't judge me because of how somebody else lives. You know, you're supposed to keep your apartment like it's your own. I feel like I got over here, I want to keep it maintained and stuff and I want to make sure the tenants are not tearing up the apartment, but I don't like to be judged just because of what somebody else does.

Bernice, a secondary mover who originally moved from LeClaire Courts to an opportunity area in the southwest side of Chicago, says her landlord was unresponsive to her requests for maintenance and this impacted her decision to move:

I want to say like about two months, we started to have problems with the toilet, and it was running over like every day. I mean, we had just...I got so stressed out every day, ever other day, plunging that toilet, water was leaking. I don't know if it was coming from the...it had to be coming from the toilet, we was mopping up water like every day to every other day. I was constantly calling that landlord. I don't know, it's just like he didn't care. I was so glad when my lease was up, really.

Janice cites her landlord, who unexpectedly sold the house Janice was renting, as the reason she had to make a secondary move:

We had a unexpected move because the last place that I was in, I found a house when I first came in on the program. And everything went excellent with that

landlord, the owner. But unfortunately she had to end up selling the house, so we had to move out. And I mean it was a really rush thing, the move, but she gave us time, you know. Well she did give us like thirty days of notice. But she could have gave us a little bit more time I think. Maybe I'd have found a bigger place, because I have three bedrooms here and actually, I'm eligible for four. My family size, you know, and all that?

Delinquent or difficult landlords often combined with substandard unit quality, as landlords often ignored respondents' requests for necessary maintenance repairs that would have improved the quality of the unit. Several respondents complained that their units were not much better than the projects they had moved from. Talia, the secondary mover who moved to the North Side of Chicago from Dearborn Homes who I introduced earlier, had problems with the ceiling in her bathroom in her placement unit. When the ceiling fell in one day, it nearly injured her daughter, part of her reason for making a secondary move. Talia names other problems as well:

Because you know like Leadership said you get an opportunity to live in an opportunity area and everything. You think if you move from the projects it's going to be much better. But it's not better, so I'd rather stay in the projects than this. This apartment is just the same. It's the same. You've got the rowdy guys. You've got the little drug dealers and stuff around. It's the same thing that goes on. Raggely apartment, mices, it's the same thing like the projects. That's it... Yeah and all that just like the projects. In the back, kids will be running up here. When I first came and picked the apartment, I talked to the landlord. He was preaching to me because by me being young, he probably thinks she's young and rowdy and stuff. So he was preaching. No I will not allow loud noise, loud music, running around and all that. But these people will be running around and jumping all over my head, playing in the hallway and all that stuff. They're always making noise. So I'm like it's just another project.

Jana, who moved on from her placement neighborhood as well, also had problems with holes in her ceiling and cites the landlord for his negligence in repairing her unit in the North Side of Chicago as her reason for moving:

I'm going to let [my landlord] know the reason I moved because your apartment ain't worth living in, and it's not worth the rent that [the voucher] pays. You get all that money and you can't remodel these apartments. That's not right.

Joyce describes why she hated her Gautreaux unit in Calumet City when she first moved there:

It was a mess. I'm really surprised that Section 8 go through, it was really a mess, the carpet was filthy, the walls was filthy, and I guess in Calumet City, as long as the stove is working, if it's a stove in here, they don't care. And she's like, 'If the stove don't work, then this place fails.' ...Right. And I'm like...my daughter and them all got together and my brother, they like, 'There's hope for this place. You just have to put it there yourself.' And I'm like, 'Ok.' And then it was infested with rats, I'm not going to say rats, but mices, you know, and I was like, I'm not fixin' to stay up in here, after...even after they approved the place and I come like, it's mices and stuff all up in there, I'm not fixin' to stay there. And so, my daughter was like, 'Mama, why don't you take both of the cats over there. 'Cause I want you out of here.' That's what she said...And I brought the cat over here, I came over every day and I fed the cat and I...'cause I...it took me almost a month to move in after they approved the place, and everything.

So far in this chapter I have primarily discussed the stories of adult respondents. However, the experiences of youths in transitioning to new neighborhoods are a crucial component of families' mobility stories. I now turn to an analysis of the experiences of youths in their Gautreaux neighborhoods and schools.

### **“It was a culture shock”: Youth Transitions**

#### *Children and Neighborhoods*

In her research on adolescents whose families moved out of public housing projects in Philadelphia to other neighborhoods using Section 8 vouchers, Clampet-Lundquist (2010) finds that many teenagers experienced difficulty developing new social ties in the neighborhoods, and often found the neighborhoods “boring.” Similarly, some Gautreaux respondents explained that their children found the placement neighborhoods boring and missed their baseline friends and visited them frequently, which illustrates the impact that distance from social networks had even on the children.

Nikki explains that her children thought the Gautreaux neighborhood in the suburbs was boring:

[My kids] play with some of the kids on the block, but not too much, not too much. So it's, I mean, it's really boring out here. It's really boring. It's nothing. Hey, you know, when I'm here and I'm out, I'll turn jump rope for one and you know, come out and play. But, it's like, they don't know what to do. I stick them outside, and they don't know what to do.

Nikki made a secondary move to a non-opportunity area in the city because she wanted to be closer to her family network and her children wanted to be closer to their friends. Her oldest son was having a lot of problems in the school in the suburbs and she sent him to live in Chicago with his grandparents even before the rest of them moved back to the city so that he could attend a city school. Thus, the experiences of her children and the difficulty they had transitioning to life in the suburbs were crucial factors in Nikki's decision to move back to Chicago from the suburbs.

Talia explains how her children have felt isolated in their new Gautreaux neighborhood. She says she would rather live in her baseline neighborhood, Dearborn Homes, and when asked what was good about it there she says:

My kids get to go out and play [at Dearborn]. See now [here] I got to walk them up there, you know, walk them to go play. It used to be I could send them downstairs, they could go in the playground. They were used to the neighborhood, or go somewhere else. There was a school across the street. I like stuff like that... [My kids] just hate to play. They ain't got nowhere to play, unless I walk them up there to the park... [My kids] just say they want to move. It's too far. They don't want to walk that far to school. They just want to move from over here. They ain't got nowhere to play. They ain't got no friends.

A lot of the stayer children became involved in their neighborhoods in different activities and made friends in their schools and the neighborhood in general. Evelyn's

two children were involved in an after-school program at the Boys and Girls Club, which is an income-based program so she could afford to send them there. She says:

I wanted a change, new environment. Like I was explaining at first over there, Altgeld Gardens, which is a projects, it was bad; drug dealers, shootings and the kids really couldn't come out and play. At a certain [time you would be told], hey, you can't have your kids out, 'cause such and such is going to shoot, or whatever. A whole bunch of stuff. But now, they go out. [There are] parks around. Basketball court, lunch, social activities and stuff, after school events for them. A whole bunch of little stuff, so it's nice.

Having an income-based program was an important resource that the community provided that allowed Evelyn's kids to take advantage of neighborhood activities.

### *Schools*

As discussed in Chapter 4, schools are a key component of children's neighborhood experiences, and respondents had a variety of perspectives on the role of schools in mobility decisions. Some respondents kept their children in their baseline schools when they moved to their Gautreaux units, even though most of these schools are highly segregated by race and a high percentage of the student population is low-income.

Maria made a Gautreaux move to the North Side of Chicago, but she kept her three children in Beethoven Elementary, the same school they attended when they lived in Robert Taylor Homes. Ninety-nine percent of the students at Beethoven are black, and ninety-seven percent qualify for free or reduced price lunch. She explains her decision to keep her children at Beethoven:

I just want them to stay in one school because it changes them, you know? How schools be different, teaches them different. It would probably knock them off, so since they used to that, I let them go, just stay right there. They been going there, and I was raised like that, getting transferred, transferred, transferred, transferred, and I didn't want that [for my kids].

For Maria, keeping her children in the same school provided them with a sense of stability.

When deciding about where to move, Cynthia did a lot of research about the schools in prospective neighborhoods. She found a good unit in a neighborhood that did not have good schools, so she decided to move anyway and keep her children in their baseline school of Wright Elementary. Ninety-percent of the students at Wright are black and ninety-nine percent are eligible for free or reduced price lunch. Cynthia explains the process of deciding about her children's school and the tradeoffs of choosing where to live:

Yeah. 'Cause I was really- I wanted - I was kinda specific- I wanted a semi-good neighborhood, plus I wanted a house to rent. A lot of, they got a lot of apartments for rent but I didn't want another apartment. I wanted a house. So it made it a little tougher, to get out there and search. And then I had to find out what schools would be around, and stuff like that, I had to take into serious consideration... Basically I did research [to find out about the schools around here]. I did research just callin', callin'. The schools that's around in this area does not do it, but I like the house, and I like how the house sits- it's not like directly on [the street]...and plus there's a lot of elderly people on the block. So, they basically look out for you. So when I looked into the schools that was around here, I was like, you know, it wasn't really good, but it had a lot of other qualities to the neighborhood. So I just decided that my children will remain at their [baseline] schools. And they would, I come to find out the school opened up a bus service. A school bus service. And they took my two younger girls, transported 'em back and forth, transported em, you know, on a school bus. So that was good, on my behalf.

Cynthia goes on to explain how she went about researching schools:

Well I have a lot of connections, a lot of people. I'm real tight with the principal at they old school. And several of 'em people, are like principals and teachers, and they basically told me, they would look in their computer, look in their computer system, and they would find out this school, them schools around here, their scores is not high. And she says you really don't want to look into a school that's below average. Where they struggling with the grade point average... So I had a lot of help, doing a lot of research. ..When I was lookin' at this place, like I said, when Section 8 was comin' out and they had to the inspections and stuff, I took a time out, to kinda interview the neighbors. You know, kinda- 'how are the

schools around here, because you know, I'm tryin' to look into, you know, just peep right here' and they would tell me; 'no, don't send your kids there, but the neighborhood, our neighborhood, this block right here is very nice. It's a lot of, it was a lot of elderly people, and we look out for one another, we pretty decent around.' Ok, I kinda decided they could stay at their old school.

As discussed in Chapter 4, some parents expressed the idea that where you go to school is not very important, and other parents talked about school as a way to keep children out of trouble. Sophie talks about wanting to send her children to the South Side schools, and when asked why she likes the South Side schools more, she explains how it really relates to issues beyond school and that children will perform based on their own effort:

The South Side, I don't have no problems with the schools, it's just closer [to family] and I prefer the South Side...I mean, you going to do whatever you going to do regardless at what school, you know, you'll be an honor roll student and come out of it, regardless of what school you in, it's just what you want to do.

Other respondents moved their children to new schools when they moved through the Gautreaux program, and some children faced serious obstacles at the new schools. Lisa's children attended Carver when they lived at Altgeld Gardens, a school where 99 percent of the students are black and 95 percent of the students are eligible for free or reduced price lunch. When she moved to Round Lake, Lisa transferred her children to Village Elementary, where 4 percent of the students are black and 50 percent are free or reduced price lunch eligible. Lisa explains some of the logistical and financial obstacles she faced in enrolling her children at Village:

When the kids started school, I finally got to meet a truancy officer. I never seen one ever my life until that day...The school out here, you have to pay for your kids to go to school, okay? I think the registration fees and all that stuff, it was a hundred and ten dollars apiece...And I'm like, I don't have that type money, you

know. So, they didn't go to school until, you know, I was trying to wait. They said it's a program I probably qualify for, but I still would have to wait. They could not go until that fee was waived. Okay, so they was outside playing and the police came here...I'm, yes? Are you the mother? Yes. Why your kids not at school? Well, I cannot afford to pay that fee and that's why not.

Lisa goes on to explain that she went to the school and got it cleared up, but that her kids ended up starting late. She also describes how her children faced challenges in their grades at the new school and reflects on the lack of preparation from their baseline school:

They'd be, they running tests on them and they trying to see why they not learning like the other kids, you know, 'cause they're kind of like behind. I'm like, well, I think it's probably from where we came from, their probably school, how they teach at this school was to just probably much slower than here, you know. So [my kids], they just be back and forth testing them...[The teachers asked me] 'Did she have any problems at the other school?' I said, she was a A student at the other school. She has two trophies from her previous school for every year that she has been there. So I don't know why the hell we come here and now it's all F's.

Some respondents recognized that their kids were doing better in the higher quality Gautreaux area schools, but this was not a strong enough factor to keep them from moving. Olivia, whose story I highlighted earlier, recognized that her grandson was doing much better in the school in her Gautreaux neighborhood, but she ended up moving to a non-opportunity area anyway because of her health issues and her desire to be in an area with better public transportation. While she was still living in the Gautreaux neighborhood she describes how well her grandson was doing at Whitney Elementary as compared to his baseline school:

My grandbaby's doin' so good in school. That's what make, really make me really proud. You know, because he lost his dad and he lost his ma – well his mama not dead but it just like losin' her, he don't see her. And he's happy. And I'm happy...He said he like it [here]. He said he love it. I know he love school. And he didn't like school over there. And he stays into fights all the time, or the

teacher called and say he did this, he did this, he ain't doin' this and he ain't – and he wasn't! But I haven't had no – everything at school is, is positive. And maybe that's what he need to be around more positive peoples that wants stuff outta life instead of nothin'... The whole school is not packed like the [old] school was. Maybe it's about, I say about maybe about 15 or 16 kids in each classroom. It's not overcrowded. And they teach 'em. Because I know he – I had him on a times table before I moved out here. And I think as far as he got up was the fives. But he know 'em all now. Yeah. You know, when he first went to school that first week they was on times tables. And I told him, I said see that's what you get, you should a been studyin' the time table when I told you to study. So I like, one night I may go over six, seven and eight. That night, and then we'll review 'em the next night. He know 'em all... And been makin' A's! I'm tellin' you, straight A's!... Makin' A's on spellin'! Well first he, you know, he was behind. So they was bringin' him up on his math and spellin' and it's good. It's real good, I'm tell – I'm just proud!

Karen also discusses the importance of education and the quality of schools in opportunity areas, but she also made a secondary move from the suburbs to a non-opportunity area. Karen's narrative is illustrative of the ways that for some respondents, considerations of school quality change over time. Many respondents recognized the quality of schools in opportunity areas and listed good schools as an important factor in mobility decisions. However, when faced with other constraints, respondents no longer considered schools as high of a priority. When living in her baseline neighborhood of Altgeld Gardens, Karen explained some of the problems of Carver, the school her children attended near Altgeld. As I described earlier, 99 percent of the students at Carver are black and 95 percent of the students are eligible for free or reduced price lunch. In her description of what she likes least about Altgeld she says:

The least? There's not really no good shopping areas and stuff close by. You know what I'm saying. The school's not all that either, the elementary schools for the kids and stuff. They're not all that either. They're not no real, real good schools. They got some all right teachers there, but I'd like better schools for my kids. They don't have all those options and stuff for the kids. You know, the different programs and options and different things. You got to get bussed out to another school, you know, fill out the paperwork for the kids and stuff for them to get the opportunities.

Karen then made a Gautreaux move to the suburbs, where her children start attending U.S. Grant School, where 12 percent of the students are black and 56 percent qualify for free or reduced price lunch. She describes how much her children like this school:

So their school, they really like it. It's a real small school. It's called U. S. Grant School, and it's right down the street there. It's on Miller Street, 28<sup>th</sup> and Miller Street, Miller Avenue. It's a really nice school. It's real small, though. And I guess that's better than a big, gigantic school, you know. But they really enjoy it. Before they were in a predominantly black African American school. Well, actually, it wasn't predominantly. It was all African American. No, we had a few mixed race, and I think Caucasian, just a few in that area, one or two or three. Because that area, Altgeld Gardens where we used to live, it started getting mixed races and different races out there just before I moved from out there. So here it's what, Hispanic, Caucasian, yeah, that's basically what's over here, and then African American...I wanted that. I wanted that for them, so they'd get to know other races and backgrounds and different friends, and stuff like that. You know, I wanted that. You know, when you're just one, you know when you're just one, like at the old school, it seemed like they're not getting to know the world. You know what I'm saying? They're missing something. So I like that, you know, they get to know backgrounds and different things about it. Like my daughter, she has a girlfriend. She's Hispanic; I think three or four houses down or something like that from here. She came over and she visited my daughter since we've been here. She's had two girls come over here. One is mixed race, I think she's mixed with Caucasian and African American. They're in her class, my daughter's class. They have come over here and visited her a few times and they're fine with it.

Karen ended up making an unexpected secondary move because her landlord was delinquent and the unit was in such poor shape that the landlord received multiple citations and Karen was finally told by the Section 8 inspectors to move. She made a secondary move to a non-opportunity area in Calumet City, where her children are having trouble adjusting to the new school. They transferred to Woodland where 88 percent of the students are black and 67 percent of the student population qualifies for free or reduced price lunch. Karen decides that she would like to move back to an opportunity area because of the quality of the schools:

Like I said, I'm leaving the door open for an opportunity area. I know if I find an opportunity area, and move there, I know the schools are much better, and they have more programs, you know, available for your children, 'cause education is very important, you know?

When asked if she would consider moving again if she found a unit in an opportunity neighborhood, Karen says:

As far as education wise yes, yes, and neighborhood wise... Yeah, yeah. My lease is up, August 31<sup>st</sup>, yeah, I've been kind of looking, I've looked at a few houses, but they weren't in opportunity areas and they weren't as in better condition as this, as good a condition as this... I'm going to try Bowling Brook. And Romeoville. I'm going to try those areas, yeah. My brother and my sister-in-law, they're over there, and it's a real nice area where, I haven't been there but I've been told, the majority is Caucasian over there, yeah, the majority is over there. I think they said they're the only black people on the block. And that's just an opportunity area, you know what I'm saying? The education is better and everything, you know.

For other respondents, recognizing that their children were doing better in their Gautreaux area school was a reason to remain in their new neighborhoods. Veronica discusses wanting to stay in her Gautreaux area in the suburbs for the sake of her niece, whom she had custody of, who is doing well in her new school. When living in her baseline neighborhood, Veronica's niece was attending Hyde Park High, where 99 percent of the students are black and 75 percent are eligible for free or reduced price lunch. In their Gautreaux neighborhood in the suburbs her niece attends Bolingbrook High, where 38 percent of the students are black and 23 percent qualify for free or reduced price lunch. Veronica describes wanting to stay in the suburbs because of the school:

Yeah, because I want to keep [my niece] in [her new school]. You know, that's my whole thing. You know, she's doing so well. Like I said, she's in honors at school, and I don't want to pull her away from that. Wherever I move, she might get discouraged and go down, you know? I want to keep her head up.

Stayer respondents also reported that their children are doing better in their opportunity areas in general and that they like their neighborhoods. The children of the respondents who stayed in their placement neighborhoods were more likely to become involved in different activities in their neighborhoods and make friends in their schools than the children of the movers.

Vanessa reported that her daughter is doing better in the Gautreaux area than she did in her baseline neighborhood of Henry Horner Homes, due in part to the impact of her teachers. She says:

[At Henry Horner], you have to let people know, I'm not scared of you, and you know, you have to be always on the defensive where you have to have your guard up at all times. But here, [my daughter is] starting to let her guard down. She's starting to be more relaxed. Her temper has changed. She's now less aggressive than she used to be. She won't let nobody pick on her or walk on her, but she's not as aggressive as she was before. So I think her surroundings [are part of that]; her teachers that she have, the input that they give, her friends, and me. You know, [I'm] still saying the same things that I said before, [but now] she starting to hear it. It's kind of sticking now.

Seventeen-year-old Kemar moved through Gautreaux with his family to the suburbs where he transferred schools and started attending Bolingbrook High. When asked which school he is getting a better education at, he says Bolingbrook High is a better school than Romeoville, his baseline school:

[At Bolingbrook] they really will help you and give you the time, I mean, they open-minded about things. They always, they want to be very clear, like very clearly with like everything that we, the whole class do. It's more like they're more like a democracy thing... You get offered, like you get offered like, basically I say more learning. I mean they teach you more, they teach you more things than they did like versus Romeoville High School. They teach you more at Bolingbrook than at Romeoville because I mean, they like, they don't, I don't know. Some teachers, they, they're real cool. They're real, real cool. They don't do it at Bolingbrook all the time. They do it their way. 'Cause they didn't, they still gonna get paid one way or another. And students like, the teachers that are gonna make it real cool, I mean, students like them. Like, my third period

teacher...he's a football coach also. He don't like raisin' hands. Every other teacher I got, they like, some of my gym teachers, they like raise your hands. He don't like that. He said that's just, that's annoying just trying to sit there trying to see who you're gonna pick. It's like it's a whole lot of students like raise their hands trying to do that. He's like no, he's like if you got the answer, anything you gotta say just say it and everything. Just don't like keep it in, just say what you gotta say. That way you can get it off your chest and everything like that or just tell the answer.

Other youth did not like their Gautreaux neighborhoods or schools at first, but eventually adjusted. Francine's daughter did not enjoy her school in Alsip, where they made a Gautreaux move, but then when they made a secondary move and she switched schools again she says she liked the school in Alsip better. Francine moved from Alsip in order to be closer to her family networks and have ready access to child-care. However, Francine describes the things she misses about the opportunity area of Alsip. She mentions liking the unit and landlord better, as well as the school:

Yeah, and [my daughter] liked the school better...Yeah, she liked the school better [in Alsip]. Remember, first she didn't like the school. And now she says she liked the school better out there than she does out here...She says the kids are bad [at this] school. They aren't too interesting. She's one of the kids that is ready to learn. She wants to get a lesson. Those kids, they really are over here. You know, in the city, it's like, 'you learn, you learn. You don't, you don't.' We teach you to pay attention or else. Out in the suburbs, if your kids don't want to learn, they'll call the parents. They were more strict and stuff.

Similarly, Mia explains that her son initially disliked their Gautreaux neighborhood of Albany Park, but now he has gotten used to the neighborhood as well as the school and does not want to move. She says:

It was a culture shock to him. The first year, he didn't like it here. He really hated it. He was the only black kid in his classes. Now he don't want to move from here. He also doesn't like going to the projects anymore.

The story of Mia's son demonstrates that it takes time for children to adjust to new neighborhoods and develop connections with other youth as well as neighborhood and

school resources. Mia’s son attended Palmer, where only two percent of the students are black, and her description of his adjustment process involves the important issue of race. Racial issues are a primary factor in youths’ experiences in their Gautreaux neighborhoods and schools, as well as the adults, and I address the matter of race in Chapter 6.

### **Stayer and Secondary Mover Comparison**

In my descriptions of respondents’ varied experiences with moving through the Gautreaux program, I gave examples of both stayers and secondary movers because these two groups faced similar obstacles, challenges, and opportunities. However, the degree to which secondary movers experienced problematic issues likely influenced decisions about making secondary moves. Table 5 provides a comparison of the percentage of respondents in each group who cited particular problems in their placement neighborhoods. These categories are not mutually exclusive, as respondents could cite multiple problems.

<b>Table 5. Comparison of Experiences in Placement Neighborhoods between Secondary Movers and Stayers</b>		
<b>Problematic Issues of Placement Neighborhood</b>	<b>Secondary Movers (N=31)</b>	<b>Stayers (N=27)</b>
Landlord problems	68%	30%
Poor unit quality	65%	26%
Distance from social networks	65%	19%
Transportation problems	58%	7%
Failure to form new social ties	42%	26%
Financial problems related to move	39%	4%
Children had problems adjusting to school	26%	15%
Children had other problems adjusting to the neighborhood	26%	4%

In all of these categories, a higher percentage of secondary movers provided examples of how these factors affected their neighborhood experiences. Thus, while secondary movers and stayers faced similar types of obstacles, secondary movers had to deal with more problematic issues. The intensity of these problems also varied, with secondary movers generally experiencing these issues on a more intense level than stayers.

### **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I addressed the variety of experiences that respondents had in transitioning to new neighborhoods through the Gautreaux program, as well as the factors that influenced secondary move decisions. Moving to a new neighborhood encompasses an array of social processes, and understanding the stories of respondents' neighborhood transitions gives insight into how these processes worked for different families in different contexts. It is especially important to recognize these varied experiences, given the overall lack of durability in families' tenure in opportunity areas. While secondary mover and stayer families faced similar challenges in adjusting to new neighborhoods, secondary movers experienced more challenges, both in quantity and intensity.

Social ties were one of the primary issues that respondents dealt with in the opportunity areas. Many families felt socially isolated in the neighborhoods they moved to, as they were often geographically distant from their social networks. This made network support in child-care particularly difficult for a lot of families. The lack of efficient public transportation in many of the opportunity areas compounded this problem. However, respondents who moved to neighborhoods where they already had family or friends living were better able to adjust to living in a new area. Similarly, some

respondents encountered landlords or neighbors who welcomed them to the new area and helped them get connected to resources and others neighbors. Generally, most respondents experienced both positive and negative aspects of their opportunity areas and expressed the tradeoffs of moving to a new neighborhood.

Most respondents experienced some form of financial challenge when they moved through the program. For some, the responsibility of paying for utilities was daunting, and others had their rent reassessed upon moving and ended up paying higher rent than they anticipated. Others had difficulty keeping the job they had at baseline, given the distance they had to travel after moving and the aforementioned problem of finding child-care. Some respondents also faced challenges accessing social services and organizations in the opportunity areas.

One of the main reasons that respondents looked forward to moving was to acquire a better unit than they had in public housing projects. Some respondents were very pleased with their new units, and good quality units were one of the primary things that made families content with their new area. However, other respondents did not move to good quality units, and this was an extremely disappointing aspect of the program. Due to the many obstacles families faced in acquiring units, as discussed in Chapter 4, some respondents ended up in very low-quality units. This, along with issues with landlords, precipitated many of the secondary moves.

Another important aspect of families' transition narratives was how children adjusted to the new neighborhoods and schools. Some children felt bored and isolated in the new neighborhoods, while others adjusted and made new social ties over time. As I

addressed in Chapter 4, parents had a variety of viewpoints about school quality. Thus, while school can be a primary socializing factor for children, not all Gautreaux youth switched schools when they moved to their new neighborhoods. For those that did, school transitions were complicated. Some children did really well in their new schools and their parents viewed this as a primary motivation for remaining in opportunity areas. Other children struggled academically and socially in the new schools, and did not receive sufficient support in their transition. I address some of the policy implications of school transitions in Chapter 7. Race was a prevalent and complicated issue in children's school experiences, and in Chapter 6, I focus on these racial issues.

## CHAPTER 6: NEIGHBORHOOD RACIAL ISSUES

### Beginning narrative

*I: So getting back to this neighborhood, what would you say is the thing you like the best about living in Hegewisch?*

*R: That everybody is friendly here who I know. And that I can trust my son with bein' home alone by himself when he get outta school, with my neighbors watchin' him. And they haven't tried anything with him. Just made sure he was safe and ok in the house. I love it.*

*I: Yeah, that's nice. You really feel like he's safe.*

*R: Yes, I really do. Out of my almost two years I've been here. I really do.*

*I: What about when he's walking from here to school and back? Do you feel good, ok about that?*

*R: Yeah because, actually he picks up some buddies, as he call 'em. They normally call, 'Anthony, we on our way to come get you.' Or he'll call them, 'Did ya'll leave the house yet? I meet ya'll at the corner.' And it's like three other guys walk to school. I met all three of 'em. Sometimes they come over here and play like the Xbox but I make sure they call they mom when they get outta school if I'm here. Or I call here like, 'You got any friends over there? Did they go home yet? Did they call they momma to tell 'em where they was at?' Sometimes they normally go home or come back. Sometimes he go to they house and he'll call me at work, 'Mom, I'm at such and such house' or 'come pick me up when you get off a work'. And I met all they moms.*

*I: Yeah, that's nice. So you, do you like his friends?*

*R: Yeah, very respectful towards the parents. I thought maybe they would've been a little racial or whatever but...*

*I: Are they white?*

*R: Yeah.*

*I: All of 'em? Yeah.*

*R: But everybody was fine and they accepted Anthony. They even feed Anthony sometimes when he's there. You know like if they prepared a meal, 'well he ate already' when I picked him up. Ok, fine you know.*

*I: That's nice.*

*R: So yeah. But I thought maybe some people was still racist so but, I mean they welcome him, they welcome me, they welcome [my daughter] you know. She try to stay with him at his friends house but... You know how it is, no girls allowed. She be like, 'Oh! I wanna stay!' He be like, 'No, mom. Take her with you, ain't no girls here.' And she be upset. But sometimes the parents say, 'well she can stay!' I be like, 'no, she ain't got nobody to play.' 'She can play with me!' She be mad.*

*I: Have you, you mentioned worrying that there might be some racism. Have you had any experiences since you've lived here that you would say were like people treating you badly because you're African American or...?*

*R: No. But I thought maybe ok, well it was rumors. But before I first moved here, before I even thought about movin' over here a lot of peoples was tellin' me like, 'Hegewisch don't have any black folks over there.' They said once upon a time they didn't have any blacks livin' over here period. So that's why I thought you know with the racism and all that. But I'm like they accepted me, I got me a place over there! So what's the problem? They was like no, some years ago. Maybe a couple a years ago they said...*

*I: Yeah. But you haven't had any trouble?*

*R: None whatsoever.*

*I: That's good. That's great. So is there anything you really don't like about living in this neighborhood?*

*R: No, not at all.*

## **Introduction**

This narrative illustrates the complicated ways that families think about and experience racial issues. Thirty-one year-old Evelyn was worried about moving to an opportunity area and encountering people being racist before she made a Gautreaux move from Altgeld Gardens, where she had lived since she was in fourth grade and where ninety-eight percent of the neighborhood residents are black. Once she moved through the Gautreaux program to Hegewisch, a neighborhood where only one percent of the residents are black, she did not experience any racist incidents and really enjoys living

there. However, some Gautreaux respondents did encounter racism in their opportunity areas. As I have discussed in previous chapters, race was an important factor in families' experiences with the Gautreaux program and warrants particular attention.

Racial issues are crucial to explore, especially given the lack of neighborhood durability in the outcomes of the Gautreaux Two program, as discussed in Chapter 3. Because so many Gautreaux families made secondary moves back to highly racially segregated and impoverished neighborhoods, one possible explanation is that families simply preferred to live with people who are like themselves and that is why so many moved back to neighborhoods similar to the racial composition of their baseline neighborhoods. However, I do not find evidence of families making decisions to move back to neighborhoods with a high concentration of black residents based on racial issues alone. Instead, subsequent mobility decisions were largely influenced by other constraints related to social ties, financial issues, and landlord and unit quality, as I discussed in Chapter 5. While not the primary factor in families' decisions to make secondary moves, racial experiences intersected with class and gender issues to both positively and negatively shape families' experiences in their opportunity areas.

Issues around racial preference are complicated. As Charles (2005) discusses, many minority groups are willing to live in predominantly white areas. However, members of minority groups often perceive predominantly white communities as hostile, and rate these neighborhoods as less desirable to live in. The narratives of respondents in this chapter illustrate this tension.

Research on the experiences of youth transitioning out of public housing to suburban neighborhoods through the MTO program finds gender differences in youths'

ability to navigate new neighborhoods, with girls' activities generally better able to fit into low-poverty neighborhood social control mechanisms than boys (Clampet-Lundquist et al. forthcoming). White (2007) addresses the social regulation of youth and the way that class, gender, race and ethnic differences all shape the construction of space and the social regulation of who uses that space. White gives the example of black males standing on corners as a social event that often elicits negative public and police reaction. This is often particularly true in suburban neighborhoods. In this chapter, I address these racial tensions and complexities, beginning with the way respondents felt about the racial requirements inherent in the Gautreaux program.

### **“I should be able to go where I want to go”: Program Requirements**

The Gautreaux program's restrictions that participants could only use their vouchers in census tracts with no more than 23.49 percent of residents living in poverty and no more than 30 percent black residents was a unique attribute of this mobility program. The stated goal of this was to move respondents to low-poverty and racially diverse neighborhoods, but in practice, many of these neighborhoods were not racially diverse and instead were predominantly white. Due to the legacy of racial residential segregation in the Chicago area, few neighborhoods are truly racially diverse. For ease of description, I use the term “diverse” neighborhoods in the way that the Gautreaux program did, but it is important to keep in mind that this broad term does not always accurately reflect the real racial compositions of opportunity areas. Respondents had varied viewpoints on these voucher restrictions, and some respondents disagreed with the concept of a racial requirement. Their narratives reflect a broader outlook on neighborhood racial and resource issues.

Ruth's story illustrates this idea as she exhibits uncertainty about "fitting in" to an opportunity area. In fact, she is one of the few respondents who really does not want to move, and prefers to stay where she lives at baseline in Bronzeville scattered sites housing, where 98 percent of residents are black. Ruth does not end up moving through the Gautreaux program. She explains her concerns:

Right. So then the tools that you all are going to use to help me out now, you all are going to give me all this, like just tools, just upper motivation tools. Why you can't give it here, so when it comes up and coming, I can fit in with the environment...Like I don't know, my focus is working, working, working, working. So if you can't get any more hours in the day, which is impossible, but you know, like where I can go. And so as far as a trade, something that helps me get to increase my income, financial management. Show me how to manage the finances that I already have, something of that nature.

She goes on to explain what she means by "fitting in":

But I just say fit in, you know, as some reason they want to move us out now so they want everybody to blend in together. And I don't know. Why I won't blend in now? Why wouldn't I fit in now? I don't understand. So to me they're discriminating that they said that happened before, they're doing the same thing. Because they're saying, well, in order for you to do this, we think that these type of people will motivate you. Which is not true. So look around here, seeing the people on the corner, seeing the drug addicts, the drunks, is motivation for me to say that I don't want to be like that, or I don't want that for my family.

Ruth provides more detail about wanting to stay in Bronzeville:

But then I'm saying, this guy over here, he owns this great store over here. Got two kids, a little boy and a little girl. Driving a Lexus, they have a Caravan. So you know...He's already doing it. He's black. So everybody don't need to move out. Everybody just don't need to. I think you should talk to them before you say well, we're going to move you out. When you have your one-on-one with your counselor, and then they decide what program you're going to be in...Gautreaux, I just do not like the program. Because they are stereotyping us...because I think this is discriminating, when you're telling me that I can't live in my neighborhood, and I can't make it, because of the other people in the neighborhood. They're going to bring me down. And that's not true...CHA and Gautreaux is not helping the situation, because you don't blend people in. And that's another thing. You blend people in together that really probably, you know what I'm saying, might not even want to be blended in. So now you're forcing people to be together that even want to be probably be together. I'm not going to

tell you that I'm going to be happy. I don't do nothing. I'll be a good neighbor. But I don't know, I don't know, I don't know why we're segregated. It's just I don't want you to fight that.

Ruth explains further that she does not like her unit and would like to move into new buildings in her same neighborhood:

New buildings. That would be no problem. My problem is just taking me out of, and then the thing could backfire you. What if you take me out of what I'm used to. I'm used to my people. And things don't go right. And then what?... You just don't fit in, just don't fit in. You know, just don't fit in, you know. OK, there's a difference in knowing that when you move in a place, when I moved in here, and you know, there's going to be some people that don't like me. And who they are, I would never know. Because I would never confront them, but once I move into another neighborhood where there's predominant white or something, it's just like you know, without a doubt, that it's going to be, they don't like you. They don't like you, and then they'd look at you, and you'd see they see you moving in and stuff, and the first thing that they're going to say is, you know, here comes a charity case. And I don't want to be anybody's charity case. So I can stand up and I can, you know... So you know, it's like they'll step on you when you move. And look at Northbrook. Unless, unless, unless you're a doctor or lawyer, or making some good money or something, Northbrook is expensive to live in. So you know, here comes a black family. She's got three kids and stuff. Then you know that stamp is going to be put on her. Automatically. It's a stamp there. So if I move in a townhouse over here, no stamp is coming. No label is put on me. All they know is that I work. They see me come in and they see me go out. And that's it. I don't need no label. No more attention that has to be drawn to me and my family.

Francine also disagrees with the racial requirement. As I discussed her story in Chapter 5, after living in Ickes for eight years she moved through Gautreaux to Alsip, and then made a secondary move to Kenwood, in the city. Ninety-five percent of residents in her Ickes neighborhood are black, twelve percent of residents in Alsip are black, and ninety-six percent of residents in Kenwood are black. Francine is a good example of someone moving back to a neighborhood very similar in racial composition to her baseline neighborhood, and she had misgivings about the racial requirement of the program in the first place. However, race was not her primary reason for making a

secondary move. Francine moved from Alsip in order to be closer to her family networks and have ready access to child-care. Also, Francine describes the things she misses about the opportunity area of Alsip. She mentions liking the unit and landlord better, as well as the school in Alsip. Francine had a racial incident in her opportunity area; she was called a “nigger” while walking to the store in Alsip. However, after making a secondary move she talks about wanting to move back to an opportunity area. Describing her viewpoint on the racial requirement of the program, she says:

The only part I don't like, I don't like the Leadership, the 30 percent, the racial rate where you got to move, I don't like that. OK, they say they want us to go in a mixed environment so we could better ourselves. OK, you still could go to a mixed environment and still be gang and violence. What's the difference? You know I think if you decided that you're trying to help me, and you're going to help me do it, I should be able to go where I want to go. That's what I feel, but you know after a year is up you can go where you want to go anyway. After my lease is up here, I can go move back to the city. But I don't know why, you know, to me it's like they're trying to do like the rest of everybody else is per se, put us all, black people, in the suburbs. And I don't feel that's right. Why push us here and push all the other people, make the better houses for the people downtown, and then we can't get in there. They're not making that for us, they're making it out here for us so we can come out here and kill each other, because that's what people are doing. I don't like that part at all, the 30 percent black people. I don't like that. But other than that, I liked the program. I really disagree on that part.

Unlike Ruth and Francine, most respondents liked the idea of living in a diverse neighborhood, but discussed the ways that meeting this program requirement made it harder to find a unit that qualified for voucher use. As I addressed in Chapter 4, some of the program obstacles to successful participation in Gautreaux made searching for qualified units laborious. Dorothy has lived for 20 years in Altgeld Gardens and she explains that she likes the idea of living in diverse neighborhood, but the racial percentage requirement makes it difficult to find a unit. When asked how she feels about the requirements of the program, Dorothy says:

That's kind of hard, it's really, I can't see me finding, when you find, ok like in Riverdale or Dalton, I'll say Dalton, it's mixed over there, but anywhere it's more blacks than it is whites, or it's more whites than it is blacks, so it's not in between... I mean, I understand that part of it being black mixing with the black and white, I understand, that's real nice, but it's so hard to find it. It's so hard to find, I don't have no problem with [the racial requirement].

Similarly, Shirley felt like the race and poverty requirements made it difficult to find a qualifying unit. She inquired into 80 or 90 units in her search for a unit, but was unable to locate one and did not end up moving through Gautreaux. When asked how she feels about the race and poverty requirements, Shirley says:

I didn't care for it. Though I, it wasn't to me to determine it, it was their program, they could set whatever guidelines they see fit. But I think it eliminated a lot of stuff. It, I guess their theory or thinking on this was, we're not gonna have you movin' from one place of poverty to another place of poverty. We want you to expand your horizons, we want you to open your children up to other - to new opportunities. I can respect that. But I think it kind of, it kind of, I don't know. One lady, when we went to the training, one lady was on the elevator just crying. And she was like, I found a place, I found a place - in a black neighborhood. She had already found a place when she came there. When we came there, she had already found a place, so she was on the elevator crying, because she knew she couldn't move her children there. And she kinda had to start from scratch, but I don't know how that went, you know, later - But I was like, man, she's just crying! And it was just really disheartening to see somebody who was so set and so ready to move, and she was like, now I have to find another place. But I think a lot of people, their main thing was, why do we have to move so far into the suburbs and everything?

Respondents' perspectives on the racial requirements of the Gautreaux program often related to their expectations of what it would be like to live in a neighborhood with a very different racial composition than what they were used to. In the next section, I explore these neighborhood expectations.

### **“I want her to meet different people”: Expectations of Living in a Diverse Neighborhood**

Another area where racial issues came into play was in respondents' expectations

of what it would be like to live in a diverse neighborhood. Paula, who lives in Cabrini Green with her two children, ages five and seven, and is pregnant with her third child, explains that she is not sure what to expect from living in a diverse neighborhood because she's never experienced that before:

It would be cool in a way. Probably not cool, but I'd be living in the suburbs period. I already knew. I already know what to expect, but 30 percent black, or African-American, or whatever, I really wouldn't know, because I've seen a lot of black faces. I don't know. I don't know how they're going to react. You know what I'm saying? It ain't just me moving there. Some people move in, I can see us over there. I could get out there, and you know, you never know. I don't care what area it is. You don't know what people think. Ooh, they're moving in? You don't even know me, but they're going to judge me when we move in, you know. So I wouldn't know. I just have to go through it. I'll just wait and see.

When asked what worries her about it, Paula says:

That they probably won't like us, because you know how these people go. We don't like them anyway. But everybody's not like that. So I just figure how they'll react to me and my kids, that's all.

She then clarifies what she thinks would affect how they would react to her:

They don't know, they don't know. I won't put a big sign, I'm from Cabrini. You know, if that's the color, you know, with everybody it's all about color, you know. Wherever you go. And then by you being black anyway, they're really going to look at us. That's a black family on this block? You know, somebody might say that, like if a white person moved on a block with a lot blacks and Puerto Ricans, what them white people want? You know, anything. You know, but some you do get the good, and you know you get the good and you get the bad. So that's what's in every neighborhood.

Francine, whose narrative I cited earlier, discussed her concerns about the strict racial requirement for participating in the program. However, she also talks about the importance of giving her daughter the opportunity to live in a racially diverse neighborhood, and that was one of her reasons for wanting to move out of Ickes.

Cherie has really positive expectations of moving from Cabrini Green, where she has lived for 23 years, to a diverse neighborhood through Gautreaux. She explains:

Leadership is about Gautreaux. You know, the black lady went out and did a lawsuit because she said black people wasn't getting fair housing. So that's what it's basically from. In my opinion, I would have loved Leadership. Honestly, because I get a chance to live in the suburbs. I love the suburb. I may be wrong, but I love it. I love it, I love it. And you get a chance to move in mixed neighborhoods. And that's what I think was the key thing that I really liked was that mixed neighborhood... Yeah. I wanted mixed. I want my kids to know the real world. I don't want them thinking it's only blacks in the world, you know, and when you live here, that's what most of the kids think. You know, they see white people, ooooooh. I'm serious. And that's sad, because some of these people have never been nowhere... I think it would be great [to live in a mixed neighborhood].

Despite her enthusiasm about the prospect of moving to the suburbs, Cherie does not end up moving through Gautreaux. She and her family inquired into around 80 units, but she had trouble finding a four-bedroom unit, a program requirement given that she has five children and custody of two grandchildren.

Gloria is 53 years-old and was a participant in the original Gautreaux program and moved from Cabrini Green to Schaumburg with her four school-aged children in the early 1980's. She lived in Schaumburg for 13 years and she enjoyed living there and thought it was good for her children. However, she ended up moving back to Cabrini because she had developed significant health programs and wanted to live closer to Northwestern Hospital, and she also could no longer afford her rent in the suburbs. Her participation in Gautreaux Two was motivated by a desire for her four year-old granddaughter, who she is raising, to grow up in a place similar to where her children were raised. Gloria talks about the fact that her granddaughter is racially mixed and how she wants her to be able to live in a mixed race neighborhood. Gloria explains where she is looking for housing and that her kids want her to look in the South Side of Chicago but

she does not want to live there:

My [grand]baby is mixed. I do not want her in an all black area. Nothing wrong with a lot of nice black folks, but I just don't want her in an all black area. I want her to know about all kinds of cultures and different things, and about...now...Hyde Park is a nice area, certain areas in Hyde Park, but it's so expensive too. It's about as high as it is up here, really, but...it's hard to find something there. And, most of the people in the projects are going down south in the hundreds, I don't want to go out here...I don't want to be around...why would I want to go where up where I they, where I just come from, you know.

Gloria ended up moving from Cabrini, which is a neighborhood that is 97 percent black, to a neighborhood near West Rogers Park that is 1 percent black. At the end of the study Gloria liked living in her opportunity area, but she was considering making a secondary move back to the city because the landlord has not been taking care of the unit well and she would like to be closer to her children and other social networks.

Other respondents had negative expectations of what it would be like to move to a neighborhood that consisted of less than 37 black residents. When asked what she thinks about the racial requirement, Sophie says:

I think it's so unfair. Yeah, because I'm saying why can't we go where we want to go. We don't want to live there, you know, you just have to stick us over here, and I don't know if these people going to be too keen with me and my kids, you know. And we just got to go in there and try to just push our way, and they're looking like oh yeah, she thinks she's going up here and scare up ourselves, we got some more things coming for her, you know. And I'll be...because I'll be skeptical. You know, because well, nobody told them. You don't want me there, believe me, I ain't trying to come. And then my son, like I said, this is his last year. Why can't we stay where they can keep us closer to the kids' school, and we got to yank them out and then put them all across town or whatever. And it's a problem that they know, you know, the majority of their school year. I know the schools [in an opportunity area] will be good. Because I went to a mixed school and it was good teachers and it was just real nice and stuff. And yeah, a lot more things, everybody sticks together, they have different kind of programs and stuff going on and you know, because when they look out for theirs, they're going to look out for you, you know, because you're in here, so. It's a lot different...Scared the people might lynch me, I don't know. You know, because like said, I stay on my side of town, don't mess with nobody's business, and I don't have no problems with nobody, but I don't want to get in and step on

nobody's toes if they don't want me there, you know. And I don't blame them for being, you know, acting funny, because you do got some people that come in there and tear up your neighborhood, and tear up yourself and write on your buildings, their kids going to be all over your yards and stuff. So like I said, I don't know.

*Combining Expectations and Past Experience: Public Housing History*

Some respondents had experiences living in the types of neighborhoods to which the Gautreaux program aimed to move people. These respondents had interesting narratives that combined expectations of what it would be like to move to diverse neighborhoods, and previous experiences that shaped these expectations. In Chapter 3, I discussed the fact that a higher percent of stayers had previously lived outside of public housing in the five years prior to the start of the Gautreaux program than secondary movers had.

Michelle lives in Altgeld Gardens and explains that it has been hard for her to find a landlord that takes Section 8 in a neighborhood that meets the poverty and race requirements. When asked how she would feel about living in a neighborhood that is 30 percent or less black she says:

I like it. Like I said, I grew up in a mixed area, out in Trumbull Park. I grew up out there, too. And I grew up with white friends, black friends, Mexican. I don't know, it's fun to be around a diverse set of people that know how you might like this, or you might not like that or what foods you eat, what type of celebrations your family has, and stuff like that. And living in the world with diverse set of people, my kids need to learn. You know, how it is that you know this person gets ahead and this person doesn't. So I don't have a problem with it. Actually, that's what I want.

Regarding living in a low-poverty neighborhood, Michelle says:

I like that, too, because it makes me strive a little harder. It makes me strive a little harder, yeah...I basically get [my kids] the things, something that now, and just to be able to keep it up. Like their bikes and stuff and it gets torn by other kids, your furniture. My last furniture set was destroyed by a neighbor's kids, not my kids. It was cream, and they would come in in the wintertime and put their

heels up on the back of my furniture and stuff. Mud and kids was coming in, in particular to play with my kids, and they tended to toys and to the point where I have to limit their company, you know, I don't like to depriving them of being able to play with somebody, but if this person's kid is not well behaved, I don't have time to be bothered.

Lauren talks about wanting to move to a neighborhood like where she grew up in the suburbs, and that her kids spend time in these types of neighborhoods because of kin connections. For Lauren, having social ties outside of her baseline neighborhood influences her perception of where she would like to live. She says:

...like I say, go back there again, I grew up...right, and I want the same things for my kids, even better. So, if that's what that means, then that's what it means. Moving out of here and moving somewhere like that, I don't have no problem with it, I'm aaallll for it...I think you have more opportunity for the children in, on the plus side, and the minus is I can't even think of one right now. [Living in a mostly non-black area] doesn't bother me for one because my brother's wife is white, right, and they live in Rockford, and my kids go around them and interact with other interracial [kids] so...I feel as though my kids are adapt, they could...they will adapt to it...you know, most schools that are in a predominantly black neighborhood don't have whites in their school, so they wouldn't know...they might be like, ooh, she all this, all that or whatever, you know, so I think we'll adapt...There's a lot of positives, a lot of pluses, there's a lot of things in, I'll say interracial neighborhoods that happens because it's an interracial neighborhood, because you got so many races, different things go on in the neighborhood that aren't predominantly black neighborhoods...I mean like you know, like, just say for instance you go in the Humboldt Park area, that's a mixed area, they got, they have their little holiday parades or whatever, you know...a lot of kids, we don't...they don't...what we have is black history month you know so...I mean, it has it's blessings to moving in a mixed area. They get to know more than just African-American. You get to know about a lot of cultural things... it helps nowadays more, educational wise with like you say, the politics and the economy, it helps, it helps.

Tasha talks about how growing up in the suburbs affects her experience in Gautreaux. She moved to an opportunity area where 23 percent of the residents are black and 18 percent are at or below the poverty level. When asked about moving to a low-poverty, racially diverse neighborhood Tasha says:

For me its normal, you know. Cause my, my mother kept us in areas like that.

Up North, suburbs. So really the projects was totally different for us when we moved there...The one thing is that - I mean, to move in the projects versus the different neighborhoods we stayed in when we were kids is that I think you might be in denial about alotta things cause you encounter alotta things livin' in the projects. You see alotta things, you know, and it's totally different. I mean the communities are just totally different. There are certain things that you might do in the projects that you might not even consider doin' nowhere else. Just because of the community. Like when I first moved over there I used to have to fight every day. I didn' know what I was fightin' for but I was fightin', you know. So I mean it taught me a lot, livin' over there. Lotta different things cause I think you wouldn't know about certain things if you didn't stay over there. Cause your parents tend to try and hide those things, you know! So it enlightens you when you learn somethin', its like you get a little more street knowledge over there. Compared to livin' in other areas. So it - I mean, it weighed itself out with me because now I know about certain things that I wouldn't a, wouldn't a known about....Just, I mean, of course [this neighborhood is] a better neighborhood. Better schools. Beach is not too far away!

Vanessa explains what it has been like living in a mixed race neighborhood when she moved through Gautreaux to Rogers Park, where the racial composition is split pretty evenly between blacks, Latinos, and whites:

Well, it's good for me. Because as I said, I moved away before coming up and I moved to a mixed neighborhood. So I know what to expect and I know what not to expect. But it's been real fun because my kids - my oldest daughter don't go outside that much. She's not a really outside person. She likes to stay in. She'll go out every now and then. But my youngest daughter, you would think we'd been living over here for like two or three years. She be having so many friends, so many friends. And if I walk through the park or go the restaurant or go to Walgreen's, she has a lot of Puerto Rican friends. And at first it kind of amazed me because she never really been around them, that culture. And it's like now, they all - I mean they all, they teach her, she knows quite a few words. They teach her quite a few words. And I mean it's real nice. I can walk up to the park and they playing with other people. They learned how to play soccer, which they never knew how to play.

Rachelle has spent all 33 years of her life residing at Cabrini Green. She offers an interesting perspective of having never lived outside of public housing and being scared to do so, but her overall story is that she still wants to move:

I never moved nowhere, I never, you know, lived out of the projects. This'll be my first time in life so - It's kind of scary. Like man, what if these people don't

like me, what if they try to do something to get me out their neighborhood...

I now turn to the actual experiences of respondents once they moved to opportunity areas.

**“The good outweighs the bad here”: Experiences of Living in a Diverse Neighborhood**

*Adults*

For some respondents, moving to opportunity areas was a negative experience, and for others it took a significant amount of time to adjust. Monique explains that she feels like she is watched closely in her opportunity area neighborhood of Elmhurst, where only two percent of residents are black. She explains that she does not feel accepted, and at one point in the interview she says in some ways she wishes she was still living at Cabrini. However, she also says the good things in her opportunity area outweigh the bad:

I feel that all eye balls are on me when I first moved in, you know because you can look around in the neighborhood it's no, it's maybe one here, one way over here, black...it's no blacks like that here, no, at all. And mostly everybody on this block is older...And, a lot of prejudice have been from when they were younger. And then they got older, these people stay on this block, have been here for years, 'cause they settled, they probably paid for their house and everything else, and they old and settled and in their ways, you know, and you can't change them, you know so...you know how that is, so...The good outweighs the bad here because even you know, they may have their little ways or something, I can get over it because I'm grown, I know better, you know and I don't have to go to the next level which people go and so I can walk away from prejudice, I can walk away from people looking, whatever, and I can stand on my pride, you know and that I am somebody. You know and don't worry about no one turning heads or anything you know and because you have to still look at, you may get shot at Cabrini, you may, you know. You have to watch for your children, you know what I'm saying and I must say it, after I didn't have my car for a while, I had to start letting my kids go to school by they self, and never once they came home and said somebody was after them, you know, something happened, or anything. I could rest assured that they was coming home. And I would leave my door open when I have to go somewhere, and they would be here when I get here.

Monique goes on to explain that there are a lot of people that come in and out of her house and she feels like her house has a reputation among the neighbors. She says:

I'm quite sure if I be here a couple of years and you know, people see that I still go in and out, you know, I don't, you know, they would change...[and] accept me for who I am.

Despite Monique's uncertainty about the neighborhood and feeling like she is watched more closely because she is black, she says that overall she likes the neighborhood, citing safety and lack of gang activity as key reasons. She also feels that the school her children attend in the suburbs is more advanced than the city school they attended previously, and she likes her landlord. Monique ends up making a secondary move to another opportunity area, Villa Park, where only one percent of residents are black. She made this secondary move because her landlord had another unit that was much larger, so she moved to have more space.

Other respondents had very positive experiences with the diversity in their opportunity areas. Sonia, a stayer, told us how much she appreciates the diversity of her Gautreaux neighborhood where eleven percent of residents are black and 38 percent are Latino:

It's a nice quiet neighborhood. You got all races up here too. Got all races. That's what the landlord say, that's what she like about it. You got Africans, you got the Italian, white people, Mexican people, Puerto Rican, got 'em all. Real nice...I like it. Always did like it mixed.

Another stayer, Melissa, talks favorably about the diversity of her southwest Chicago neighborhood:

It's not bad being around black people, but, you know, it's sometimes good to be around another mixture of people. 'Cause it's not just white. It's you know, everything. We see Philippines, you know, Mexicans. It's all, you know, all different types of people... So I don't want to you know, seclude myself, or be ignorant to other people.

### *Children*

The experiences of the children in the new neighborhoods also demonstrate the importance of social networks and the potential barriers to creating new networks. Some children experienced racially motivated incidents in their neighborhoods and schools, and this contributed to the difficulty some of the children had in adapting to their new neighborhoods and schools. Akilah's 10 year-old son was called "nigger" repeatedly by several of the young children in their Gautreaux neighborhood in the North Side of Chicago, where only one percent of the residents are black. Incidents such as this point to the salience of race in creating possible barriers to the formation of social ties in the respondents' new neighborhoods. Akilah made a secondary move, though her primary reason was because her landlord chose not to renew her lease. She ended up moving to live closer to her family.

Mia's story about her 12 year-old son exemplifies the issue of racial profiling of youth that I presented earlier. She explains how things have been in their Gautreaux neighborhood of Albany Park, which has just a one percent black population:

No, only the first year a lot of people were wondering what we were doing here, and they would ask me, you live over here? Yeah, I live over here...I just guess they noticed a stranger, and they know maybe there's a certain minority that aren't over here, you know, and they're trying to figure out how did I get here...My son still gets harassed by the police on and off though too...It's not as bad as before, but they still stop him and stuff...Well like if something goes down over here and they say it's somebody black, he's the first one they want to talk to. They'll come over, and he said they'll come and knock on the door and ask him about things, that they think he might know. And I told him, you don't open the damn door for them, because they don't have the right to do that...That was, I think, just before summer began, he told me end of the school year last year...And he said two cops came and knocked on the door and asked him. I don't remember what happened, but I said they don't have that right or that business to ask you any damn thing. I said you're a minor. They can't question you like that...It happened while I was at work. It seemed to happen a lot when I'm at work. And then he don't get their name so I can file a report or file a complaint, you know. And I tried to tell him, look at their badge and just try to

memorize his name or something, you know. But he don't do it because I guess he's scared. He just don't want no trouble...Like sometimes when we come from the store I'll notice that they'll slow down and I know they're looking at my son, because sometimes he'll walk ahead of me, and the lady was gonna stop him but then they noticed I'm with him, so they figure I'm his parent, and they don't mess with him.

Mya's 14 year-old son also had trouble fitting in to their opportunity area, where 3 percent of the residents are black and 84 percent are Latino. She explains:

I mean its, its okay. But its kinda hard on the kids...Because by them bein' the only like African-American on the block, I mean its not too many [other African-Americans] around...Basically its like they stay in the house. Well I know my little one, he's been like that school cause he's the only African-American in his class. Yeah. So it been kinda tough for him...He's - no, he said they picked on him but I guess after he defend himself they won't pick on him anymore. Yeah, he don't really have any - he don't have any friends since we been here, he don't, won't even go outside. At the other place he did have friends that lived next door that would come an he would go ride his bike but actually since we've been here he's probably only rode his bike twice.

For other families, children's positive experiences in their new neighborhoods were a key component of what they liked about the neighborhood. Vanessa describes how good the diversity in her Gautreaux neighborhood in the North Side of Chicago has been for her two kids:

It's been really good for them. [My daughter] has a lot of different friends as far as races, and that's something that I wanted them to experience - the different nationalities of people and how it can be an advantage or disadvantage to you. Well see, I've kind of, by me being moved around a lot, coming up, it really doesn't bother me what area I live in because I can adapt, but as far as for my kids, I think it was. I think it was good for them, because being there, being around all African-American, not getting to experience different cultures, that's what I was worried about. But now, being here in a low poverty level and everything, I think it's great for them and for me, because I feel, I feel more comfortable knowing that I don't have to come in clutching my purse all the time. You know, I still kind of got a nice little grasp on it, 'cause you don't know, it's a fool everywhere, but you know, you don't have to feel like, ok, I'm going out of the house, I got to make sure my CD player is in my purse. You know, how that...sense of fear, as much as you would...I think you have more fear in a high-poverty area, than you do in a non-high poverty area, because you know, people want a lot, you know, people want things, and some people if they can't have it, in

their mind, they have to take it. And you know here, you see kids, a lot of kids on bikes, you see a lot of kids with Walkmans, you see a lot of kids wearing jewelry, and as far as there, you have to wear little rings, you can't wear a [lot] 'cause somebody's going to snatch it from you maybe, you know, that's the only thing that's good about that... The issue of race doesn't really bother me because I get along with everybody, I try to at least. And, I just like, I tell my kids to be open to every and anything because you don't know what your future holds. It's not to say, I will tell my kids, you're not guaranteed to marry a black man, don't put in your mind that you have to marry your own race. Be open to any and everything because this person that likes you may not be the best thing for you, but the one that don't like you and keep buying you flowers and roses, you don't like him, don't... give a person a chance. So I tell them to give everything a chance, you might not like it, if you don't like it, then don't be bothered with it, but give it a chance, but you don't know... I really feel accepted in this neighborhood, because the first year I was kind of leery because I didn't know anybody, I didn't know the area, I didn't know how to basically get around here. But now I can go to Skokie, I know how to go to, you know, Evanston, to the malls and even here in this area. I know where the different little restaurants and everything, opposed there, you only had [McDonald's], fast food places. You really had to go down town if you really wanted to eat, but it was so expensive, now you know, around here they have a lot of little café's, it seems where you can do, and just take your kids to experience different outings.

In these narratives about adult and youth transitions to new neighborhoods, interactions with institutions and neighbors are evident. In the next section, I focus specifically on the ways that race, class and gender issues intersect in these contexts.

### **“Basically the single families are the black mothers:” Intersectionality of Race, Class and Gender**

The intersection of race, class and gender is evident in respondents' experiences in opportunity area schools and neighborhoods. In this section I highlight the narratives of children and parents regarding school and neighborhood transitions. A common theme in these narratives is the disparate resources that are available in various contexts.

#### *Schools*

As I discussed in previous chapters, the issue of schools is complex, and in this section I focus on the ways that race and class issues intersect in school contexts.

Yolanda moved to an opportunity area in Hanover Park and then made a secondary move to a different unit in another opportunity area in Hanover Park. She transferred her children to a school in Hanover Park when she initially moved, and she kept them in the same school when she moved again. Her 14 year-old daughter, Temeka, now attends Glenbard North High School, where four percent of the student population is black and four percent qualify for free or reduced price lunch. Prior to moving, Temeka attended Dett, where 99 percent of the students are black and 92 percent are eligible for free or reduced price lunch. Yolanda explains that prior to moving through Gautreaux, she thought that her daughter would do better in an opportunity area school, but that she is having a difficult time with grades and she has experienced racial incidents. When asked how her daughter's current school serves her needs, she responds:

Not as well as her last school. Not as well as her last school. Temeka, she be needin' help with things. She like not real good in math. She need help in certain areas, in math...So she said Ma, she said, I'll raise my hand, she said I raise my hand every time I need some help. She said they not helpin' me up there, at the school. She said I raise my hand, she said it be other kids raisin' they hand, she said but I'm always been the last one to be called on. And then she said when they call on me, they'll say, what Temeka? Like they don' wanna be bothered with her or somethin'. You know, and that was botherin' me. I said she is here, you know, at school for you all to help her. Why would you - you know, they don' wanna help, then I don' think they should be workin' at the school. Or in that area of the school, but somewhere else. So Temeka, she had a hard time gettin' help. But when things start goin' bad for her at school, they wanna start callin' Temeka's mom. And I told 'em I said well, Temeka was askin' y'all for help. Temeka came to y'all for help. And she wasn't gettin' the help that I think she should be getting. I said well, they said what kinda help you, you know, that you think that she need. I said first of all, when she was at her other school, the teachers stayed after school, or they'll tell Temeka come a hour before school start. And they would give her the help she need. I said she not gettin' that here. I said it's no one here to take time out to help her with her needs. I said they took time outta they, outta they schedule. They own personal time to help my child.

And so they said that, that's what she need? I said yes, that what she need. I said some kids take a - you know, don't learn as quick as the other one. I say and that's how Temeka is, it take awhile, you have to explain stuff, you gotta break stuff down to her. And so it's like they weren't really - I guess it wan't - I don't know what was goin' through they head at school, but to me it seem like they weren't really helpin' her at all. Her grades started fallin', goin' down. Temeka never came home with a F on her, on her grades. Never. And the city, she always kept A's an B's. And I still got all her old report cards. She kept A's and B's. She kept probably one or two C's. She never received a F or a D. And when she got out here, Temeka been receivin' F's an D's. In everything...And I thought it would be helpin' her since we moved out here, and it's not. [One of the reasons I moved out here was] to better her in her schoolin'. An it's not, it got worse. Her schooling got worse. Because they not helpin' her....And then Temeka say Ma, I think they racist at the school. She said they didn', they not gonna show it to us, us she said because, she said because they probably can lose they jobs, she said, I see the difference between the way they treatin' us and some of the other students. She say Ma, they keep pickin' on me about my clothes. I don't let Temeka dress half-naked. I don't let Temeka show her belly, I don't let Temeka show anything. But just a shirt she was wearin', and it just said, and it just said obey me. That's all it said, obey me. Temeka couldn't wear that shirt to school no more. But them other kids can go to school with green hair. They can go to school with shirts with you know, them playboy bunny rabbits on it. But Temeka couldn't wear her shirt that say obey me. I say, cause they gonna tell her it wasn't appropriate. I said, green hair is not appropriate either...She says it's not too many blacks in our school, Ma. She said it's a lot a, you know, different other races. Mexican, Puerto Ricans, you know, Assyria. She got a Assyria from around there. She said but it's not too many blacks up in that school. She say and I think we gettin' treated unfairly, she said because they get away with a lot a stuff. And anything that they do and we tell on them, they get away with it. They don't get suspended or in-school suspension. But Temeka's friends, they African-Americans, they get suspended for any little thing. And she said Ma, don't wanna go to that school. And now my little, my younger one, my middle one. She said Ma, don't wanna go to that school Temeka go to cause she havin' too many problems. And she about to go to that school if I end up stayin' here.

Yolanda's daughter describes what it was like for her when she first moved to the opportunity area school. Temeka says:

Ooh, I don't like it. It was like, like, up in Chicago it was like everybody in the classroom know each other. I can't, at that class we have to switch classes every thirty minutes. And in Chicago you just stay in one class all day. And then, but at that school, then you don't hardly know people and then there's fewer people like you, it's not that many people just like you {referring to race}...Yeah, and it's like, it was different than, I'm like, like we used to talk about social studies up

in my old school in Chicago. Wouldn't nobody just stare at one person. Like out here, you talk about social studies or slaves or somethin', slave history or somethin' like that, black history, they'll look dead at us, like, like, turn around, and I hate that. 'Cause we be always, it was always like three black people inside the classroom...I don't know [why they look at us]. They probably just think, they probably think, I don't know, 'cause I really can't say what they think. But they probably just feel uncomfortable or somethin' like that. I dunno. Like they probably think that I feel uncomfortable. I feel uncomfortable when they stare at me. But other than that I don't feel uncomfortable.

Along with four percent of the students being black at Glenbard, ten percent are Latino and nineteen percent are Asian or Pacific Islander. When asked how students are different at Glenbard, Temeka responds:

Probably the language... 'Cause everybody in Chicago spoke my language, and out here they speaking like fifty different languages and stuff like that. Yeah, then you see like, OK, we didn't learn Spanish in grammar school, but out here we had to take Spanish, and then the only thing that's good about out here is the education I guess, but, kind of, not really, not so much, 'cause it's like harder out here and it's easier in Chicago. And I know I like it in Chicago but out here it seem like the teachers can't stand me. They hate me. Yeah. Because they, ever since, I never got a suspended a day in my life. Never detention. Nothin'. But since I came out here and went to the school, and my first time I got suspended because this [white] girl called me a black slave...And they suspended me from February 13<sup>th</sup> until March 2<sup>nd</sup>, and they suspended her from February 13<sup>th</sup> until like February 18<sup>th</sup> or somethin' like that.

Some respondents felt that suburban schools had different expectations of parents than the schools their children attended in the city. Sharice explains that it was easier to get full-day preschool in her baseline neighborhood of Altgeld Gardens than it is in her opportunity area, and that the opportunity area school has a harder workload for her kids and different expectations of her. She explains:

And they always had a after-school program goin' on out there. And they had the children's buildin', which is somethin' like a YMCA, it was right there in that area. So they always had some type of activity goin' on. Even though sometimes you might not want your kids to get involved because of the stuff that goes on, and some - sometimes kids, you know, get to fighting, carryin' on, you have to - so some kids, sometimes you don't want your kids involved with it, but as far as

the ones was at the school, they were okay. Because - and it was a lot of activities at the school. Another thing about the schools...I loved that school because like in February, they had black history month. They didn't have anything for black history month [here]. And for the ones, you know, the kids that - there was a few Hispanics there, and they...they're Hispanic, you know, the - that a lot of stuff for them for the other kids to learn more about - The background - yeah. And this school don't seem to be doin' that!...Certain services they don't have, cause like, here, for the kindergartens, they have to decide, okay, like we have one kindergarten class where it's full-day. And they test the kids, which kids are gonna go full-day and which kids are not gonna go full-day. But, I mean, some people might need their child to go full-day!...Not only that, I think the kids - okay, like, the kids do work. My son, like he brung a book report home the other day. Usually when they have book reports out there at that school, they tell 'em to do book reports on books that the kids can actually read. You know, kids can read their selves, they can try to scan through 'em - kindergarten kids. They actually supposed to be able to read certain words at certain times, right? So they have them readin', you know, you sit there and you listen at 'em read it to you, and then they'll tell you what they like about it. This kindergarten, they tell 'em to pick Michael Jordan books. And some, some other book - like, little kids can't read that book!...And not only that, I mean, they don't have the - they don't, they not there in the school long enough for them to work 'em that much, and for the parents that's not - that's workin', they can't work with 'em because they only at home workin' at certain time, and sometime babysitters work with 'em and sometime they don't, you know!...So, it's kinda like, those kids are kinda on the borderline, because they don't really have anybody to help 'em, unless they have older brothers an sisters that can help 'em, like in my kids case, but the ones that don't, where do they - parents gonna help 'em with they work? And if the school's not, they don't be in the school that long for the school to help 'em so much...Because they expect you more to, they have more programs here where they invite parents out to the school. And they expect you to come at, you know, like, in the evening time, or certain days, they have like, different programs. But out there they didn't have any programs for the parents to volunteer. That they didn't have. But here they have more programs for parents to volunteer, and they like to have the parents there...Like, you must be here. I mean, I can't just take off work cause you feel I must be there!

Other children had really good experiences in the racially diverse schools in opportunity areas. Jennifer's eight year-old son went to school near Cabrini Green until they moved to an opportunity area in the North Side of Chicago. He transferred to Peterson Elementary, where the student population is 24 percent Latino, 32 percent white, 40 percent Asian or Pacific Islander, and 4 percent black. Seventy-one percent of

the students are eligible for free or reduced price lunch. Jennifer describes what she likes about Peterson and compares it to her son's previous school:

My son's been in trouble at school, but over all the teachers there, they seem like they really care, and I wanted my son in a, a mixed school and a diverse school with different races in it. And I'm glad that he's actually... So basically, the school itself is like my parents, when I went to a grammar school... well Newbury Academy, I don't know if you know where that is but I was there when I was younger, but my parents moved, they transferred us to another school which was all black and I didn't like it... But basically, the point I'm getting at is that the schools and, I wanted my children being in a mixed, you know, with different races because you know, you'll be around different races as you get older and it's like, I feel that it's something they should be around regardless of you know, I just want them to be... I feel I had better education being at the school I was at at first. And the, which is that, see the kids were different there than when I was in an all black school. The teachers I had in the black school, they taught, I feel like they taught me well, but it's just the atmosphere you know as far as just being around, just one particular race, I think it's best to be around mixed races and... because you be like that in the work field, you be around different people. Everybody has different beliefs and different ways of how they do things but, I know the way things are done, I feel like my children should be around different races, so they'll know different people, regardless of how they look or what color they are, but know that they're, just 'cause they're different in skin color doesn't mean you know, they can still get along, and still be with other people.... Yeah, really the schools in Cabrini, they don't have too many, they don't have any funding. It's like there's not much put into those schools. Yeah, you know, because of that, you know, it's like all that has an affect on the children and I think, I know, I really don't know why there's more into, being put into the schools that are in good neighborhoods, because they be... the people that are in good neighborhoods, they really don't have the money to put into the schools, I don't know where the money comes from, but it seems as though the schools are kept up and the... it's just different to me, with how the schools are, you know... Yeah, and I seen the difference because really, with my son, you know, the teacher, like I said the teachers that I had there, they taught us well, it's just the kids that I was around everyday, there's a lot of things I wasn't used to, a lot of swearing and fights every day. When you're around that kind of environment, that doesn't give you room to think, and as a child there's a lot of stuff that's on you and you're around that every day like when you have to fight every day and things are being seen that you're not normally used to, and the way you're being raised at home, has a lot of affect on when you're in school, because a lot of that tends to carry with you at school and then you can't function as a child because you're worrying about things that you shouldn't be worried about. And when... the parents having problems, and then that child is not getting enough, it's really from both parents, you know as far as, I mean, it's from both the parents and the schools to do, 'cause a teacher can only do what they can, and me as a

parent, I don't do as much as I can with my son, I'm really kind of busy all the time but I set my mind on set things where I will take time out actually to start spending time and sitting down with my son, me and my daughter, you know even if it's for a couple of hours, you know where I'm reading with him, you know, helping with some math, and buying math books and stuff like that but it has to start from home because basically, like I said, the teacher can only do so much, and they have a lot of students at once and really it's like to me, like there's not a lot of funding in the schools.

Mia, who I described in Chapter 5 as discussing the role of race in her son's adjustment to his opportunity area school, explains that her sons did not initially like his new school but he now really likes it and does not want to move away:

My son is into the hip-hop culture. So he likes that certain language and like, he isn't with it, but, you know he's into the clothes. And he still wears his braids and stuff, so, he wants to go where he knows he can kind of fit in. He don't want to go to school where, you know, they're like, I guess I'll say too preppy and too suburban is what he calls it. He's the only black kid in his classroom, and he's really well liked. Don't have a problem with any of the kids. [When we first moved] it was a culture shock to him, because he was, the first year he didn't like it here. And he really hated it. He was the only black kid in his classes. Now he don't want to move from here. He also doesn't like going to the projects anymore...He realized that he had something, a better future with the whites, so, he's, or he's just growing up and maturing. He's liking it over here. Because if I go to try to move in a house next year and he was upset that we were gonna move out of here.

### *Neighborhoods*

Nikki's narrative illustrates how race, class and gender intersect in navigating new neighborhoods. She moved to a neighborhood in the suburbs where six percent of the residents are black and nine percent are below the poverty level. She had multiple bad experiences in her opportunity area but also explains that she likes living there. When asked how it has been living in a low-poverty suburban neighborhood she says:

The difference is everybody has somewhere to be. And that's a good thing. I don't mind playing, and, and in the, in bad neighborhoods, I know playing can be very deadly. And that's when you get the gunfire and the shooting. So here, at least on the surface, it, it appears as though everyone has somewhere to be. If

they're at home with their children, they're cleaning up, they're preparing meals, they're getting things set up, they're going to pick up the kids, so they're occupied. So I think that's, you know, that's good. I like that. I don't like people directly in your business, watching you come and go. I don't like that. I don't like people, can I borrow this from you, can I borrow that, because I don't borrow anything, you know. And I've had my neighbor ask to borrow something, but it, it was once out of the whole time I've been here. But there you had people asking to borrow just the most absurd things, you know, it's like are you kidding me. You know, are you kidding me? You know, can I borrow your microwave so I can, so I can dry this ponytail. Let me think about that. No. Can I borrow some bonding glue? Now I'm hair stylist. Can I borrow some of your materials to do my hair? No-oh. You can pay me to use them on you, yes. So I don't, I don't, I don't, I don't miss any of that. You know, this, this is good.

When asked how much her neighbors made her feel welcome, she responds positively:

Just, just people when they're out, like during summer months, you know, people speak and how are you. And me, I'm just a big kid, so sometimes from time to time, maybe it's twice out of the whole summer, I'll go outside with the kids, and I'll start, because now the kids don't seem like they know how to play games anymore, so I'll start 'em on a game. And I'll start jumping rope with them, and you'll see the parents sitting out on the porch, and I'm like jumping rope with 'em, and I'm like uh-uh, you cheated, it's my turn, you know. I'm really all into it. Then they start coming closer, closer to observe, you know. And then my neighbor, she got into, you know, to start jumping, so I like that, you know. Don't be afraid to just have fun, you know. So I felt, I felt welcome at that point, like they were trying to get to know me.

Some respondents perceived living in a low-poverty, diverse neighborhood as a potential motivational tool. While living in Cabrini Green and asked what she thought about moving to a low-poverty neighborhood, Angel says:

You know move to a neighborhood where there's less poverty so that you could, they feel that you can advance more when it's less, if it's less poverty level. Yeah. They feel that you can really succeed in the neighborhood like that. I believe you can too. I think it's more motivating than staying in a neighborhood like this where there's poverty, I don't want to do nothing. But I'm motivated everyday, so.

Melissa has a similar perspective about neighborhoods being motivating. She is 28 years old and has spent her entire life in LeClaire Courts. She says:

[Living in an area where most people work] motivates you to do the same,

because if you're around people that's not doing that, you're subjected to do what they do. So you know you don't want to be the only one over here not doing nothing. Or the kids, the only one not getting lessons and ballet lessons and stuff like that because you don't have the money. But you know I want them to have everything, you know, they want.

Melissa goes on to talk about living in a racially mixed area:

It's good because it prepares them {referring to kids}. That's life, you know. It's not normal to be around, I ain't going to say not normal but that's not the way it is to be around one race. You know, just all black. You know, that ain't how the world is. You're going to meet Asians and stuff like that.

While still living in her baseline neighborhood, Kia explains that she can see both potential positives and negatives of living in low-poverty neighborhood:

If they look down at you, basically, you know. If they make more money than me, I don't knock nobody. I like to see some people not flaunting it if they're making more money than me you know. It doesn't matter about the money thing. It's just how you act, it's your overall attitude. You know if you had it, if it's stinks or sucks or whatever. Or if you don't have to throw up to me well I got a Master's Degree or this and that, or I'm this I'm that. That's when it'll be like she's bragging on everything she has. For what, and you know, you can gain everything in the world but when it comes time when you're checking out of here, if your soul is right, it does not matter anyway. We can't take none of this stuff with us when we leave. We can't put it in our coffins. So that's the way I look at it.

Candace explains that the neighbors in her Gautreaux neighborhood of Wicker Park are more reserved and career-oriented:

I know the neighbors right next door to me. And I know, you know, we speak. Hey, how you doin'. My husband, I'm not, 'cause I've always, I was always working. My husband would come through so he'd meet everybody. He's always been like that. She, she knows everybody, these two neighbors. But you know what? You don't many people come up in front of their house. It's that type of neighborhood. The lady from across the street, she had twins. You'd see her come out walking the dog with 'em, you know. I just saw someone moving out over there. Other than that, it's pretty quiet... These neighbors here are more reserved [than the neighbors at baseline hood]. You don't see them. I don't know if they're more career-oriented. In the Humboldt Park area there was a lot of, especially on the block, there was a lot of low-income subsidy housing. A lot of people didn't work so you saw 'em all. And I, well, I was the only one working

on the block. I'm the only one who left every morning... That's what type of neighborhood that was that I lived in. But this is, you can definitely see, I mean you see the cars come and go sometimes but, definitely more career people. You see a lot of people, families with Mercedes you know. Yes. Lexus trucks. And my little van sits in the back.

Keisha explains some of the gender dynamics she experienced when she tried to get to know her neighbors upon moving to West Rogers Park:

Initially when we said hello, they just looked at us you know, the woman, it's the woman, 'cause she doesn't have a job, you know she's got a man, and I guess he works you know, so she takes the kids to school in the morning and she has time on her hands to screw with a working single mom, you know, who is trying to make life on her... on their own and sometimes people wonder well you know, how is she making it, she doesn't have a husband and you know, she drives a decent car, blah, blah, blah. How is she making it? I'm making it by getting up with my arthritis out of my bed every morning and going to work.

Fourteen-year old Shanna explains some of the race, class and gender dynamics as she describes how she would compare her family to other families in the opportunity area of Hanover Park:

[We're] a lot alike. The black families, the Muslim and white families, most of them got jobs and stuff. So we, the kids can't say that. Because my mom don't work nowhere yet. So I can be a little embarrassed. Like at school if they need to call home if I've been absent and they want to make sure I didn't ditch school so they call home. That's, if my mom don't call the school and tell them I'm going to be absent. Sometimes she'll forget that. And then they'll call the next day that I'm at school, her, to make sure I didn't ditch. They ask what's her work number. I can't say nothing because she doesn't work so I'll be feeling kind of bad. So I'll just say she's at home and then for basketball, the same thing. If they can't come pick me up, then my friends take me home. And their parents ask me why my parents didn't come get me, if it's because they're working. And I can't say yes because they're not. So I felt bad.

Multiple respondents talked about the stigma and cost of being a single mother in opportunity areas. Melissa describes this dynamic in her opportunity neighborhood of Aurora:

That's the thing, you have to have... [this neighborhood is] for families, for

husband and wives, it's not for single mothers, I don't think it's for, you know that's...not for me, you know. I like it but, you know, it's hard for me to maintain. You know, I try but you know like you know, it's spring, and I have to get the carpet done because the winter-time, that's like \$200 for the back yard, you have to get the lawn maintained, I always lived in apartments so I don't do that, so that's like \$200 and it's just a lot of maintenance you have to do, and if you don't have a husband or somebody to help you, it's, it can be overwhelming, overbearing. You know, it's hard... I see so many mini-vans and stuff 'cause it's for families. It's for families who's husband and wife, and I'm like, ok. Right, 'cause you know, all the kids they have their dad, it's single families here, but you know, basically the single families are the black mothers. You know, the white families, you know they wait 'til they're more stable. And that's one thing that I like about white families, they wait. You know, we just have babies at fourteen and fifteen years old and we say, 'Oh man, why did I do that.' But you know, they think about that, you know, it's something to think about I tell my kids you know, think about it, you know, now, don't think you have to have no babies, 'cause you know, my brother he just had a boy, and they all, 'I want to go over there, I want him. Ooh, I want to have a baby.' No you don't, they're there when you get thirty, you can wait, I wish, you know, the mothers and dads out here are older, so now, you know my kids they like, 'Where's your dad?' You know the kids ask them, 'Where your dad.' They're like, what's that, you know, they don't get offended but you know, you don't have that. So, it's different, I tell them, you have one but if he's not here then we'll manage. Kids do that they ask, but they're curious, my kids are too, but you know, you have to explain it to them the things kids are asking, if they...you know, ask them why they ask that you know, sometimes, but I think, my neighbors think because there's not a man here they, they you know, he'll come, you know, what's going on, you know, you need help with anything, or if he sees the garbage he'll help, you know, he's real nice. He's like, his wife is like, 'You're a little too silly.' But he see I don't have nobody here, and he helps.

She goes on to explain why she goes back to her children's doctor in the city if they need medical care:

Because when you go up in there {referring to Gautreaux neighborhood}, and I don't know if it's just me or what, 'cause you know, I have three kids and you know, they don't...they treat you different, you know, I don't know, it's not prejudice, it's just single mothers period...You know they...'Oh she got those kids.' You know, my kids, they loud, you know they just loud, but you know the average kid is not that loud out here, that's why, they say, you know, they be bad too but man, it's something, they fight each other, it's just...I don't know. 'Cause I have a friend, she has six kids, she's twenty-eight, she had six and we'll go to the store, she'll have her six, I have my three, there's nine kids in the store, and you know, them ladies are just like, oh my god...and we get out of one car.

And my friend, she's getting mad, like, 'What they looking at!' I'm like, 'You know. It was us.' We'll be staring too, like man, what they doing, sitting on top of each other in there, but we go into Target and you know, they are so loud and they like to run through the store...my kids love to shop. But they know how to do it, you know, they know what to look for. Mostly I just, maybe it's me, but...they don't take medical cards, they don't cover this, 'cause I went to...I went to a doctor in Woodridge and I was asking her for the birth control patch and she was like, 'Medical card don't cover that, but they do in the city.' They're not...they act like they're not familiar with the medical card but I know there is a lot of people that get that, so you know, they just do that, but you know, she didn't want to give it to me. I'm like, 'Well I get it, you know, just write the prescription out. If I don't get it then you will know.' So I ended up getting it but I never went back because she made a big deal out of a birth control patch. I went back to the city [for medical].

Despite these challenges, when asked how living in Aurora has affected her life, Melissa responds positively:

To me in a good way because I feel like I'm more responsible because out there I knew being in the projects, it is like a crutch. You know, out here they make you do...I mean, you pay your bill, you do this, you have to budget you have to...I didn't have to budget, I didn't have to do none of that. I didn't have to pay rent, I had \$0 rent in there. Out here, it don't matter what you did, you still... It's different, but it's good because it's teaching me to be responsible and then sometimes you don't have that money, so you have to put it aside, so it be sometimes, I...you know, when I don't have anything I'm glad I put this money, put aside, now I have something, you know, to pay the rest of the bills with, you know, something to pay this bill with. 'Cause you know, you have a lot of bad days.

Shirley explains some of the frustration she felt in the ways that being a single parent affected her search for a unit through Gautreaux. She did not end up moving through the program. She says:

I liked the fact that initially when we first got started, they, they kind of informed us about things, and it, it kind of gives you a little hope. It was very hopeful that you might get into a new community and have a opportunity for your children to have a different type of life. And that was real good, and it was very encouraging, but throughout the course of the program, I really don't believe I've received the assistance that I thought I could have received. And for a while I was real gung-ho and I was searching everywhere, and I got a little put off because I wasn't finding very much. And then by me being a single parent, and having four boys,

some people are very turned off by that. It's their community, so it's difficult, you know, and especially if you're not, if you're not married. And I find a lot, some people just really won't give you a chance to get your foot in the door. So it's kind of discouraging. But I didn't give up, but I found that with the program I guess they're very, I guess they're very busy, overwhelmed, maybe, to the point where I don't, I mean you would call in, people wouldn't call you back immediately. Sometimes when you find a place, you got to jump on it right away, and when you have to go through an agency to get what you need instead of just directly going in, it makes it a bit more hectic.

Shirley's story ties together many of the themes evident in this chapter and raises concern about the way the Gautreaux program was implemented. In Chapter 7, I address the policy implications of stories such as Shirley's.

### **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I discussed the complicated ways that race plays out in Gautreaux families' expectations and experiences of living in racially diverse neighborhoods. I find that some respondents faced racial tensions and incidents in their new neighborhoods, but overall most respondents liked the idea of living in diverse neighborhoods. Decisions about making secondary moves to neighborhoods similar in racial composition to the neighborhoods from which they came were not based primarily on racial issues. Instead, they were linked with other constraints related to unit and landlord issues, financial burdens, and the difficulty of living in neighborhoods distant from family, jobs, and accessible public transportation, as I discussed in Chapter 5.

Respondents' expectations about moving to a neighborhood with a relatively low percentage of black residents were mixed. Some expressed concern about how they would be treated, others were optimistic about the benefits of living in a diverse neighborhood, and many respondents expressed a mixture of both of these expectations. Most respondents who had recently lived outside of public housing explained that they

thought they would be comfortable moving to opportunity areas because they were used to similar environments.

Upon moving to opportunity areas, some families did experience racially motivated incidents, while others did not face these types of problems. Some of these incidents occurred at children's schools. For some children, class and race issues combined to make their school experiences challenging, in part because they had previously attended under-resourced schools. Similarly, some adults faced stereotypes and obstacles due to their race, class and gender positionality. Multiple respondents described how it felt to be a single black mother in neighborhoods they perceived as being for married couples.

Despite these complicated racial issues, the decisions that most respondents made regarding secondary moves were the result of concerns other than race. However, respondents' narratives about the racial aspects of the Gautreaux program and their neighborhood transition experiences provide useful insight into the structure and implementation of housing mobility programs. In Chapter 7, I discuss the policy implications of these narratives.

## **CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS**

### **Introduction**

The need for mobility programs is rooted in the history of racial residential segregation in the United States, and the difficulty that low-income, minority families have moving out of impoverished inner-city neighborhoods is well documented (Crowder 2001; Logan, Alba and Leung 1996; Massey and Denton 1993). Many researchers identify the negative effect that living in areas of concentrated poverty and high crime rates has on individual outcomes, and residential mobility programs such as Gautreaux operate under the assumption that moving to more affluent and diverse neighborhoods will result in positive outcomes. However, previous housing mobility literature has largely overlooked the significant impact that local ties and social networks have in the lives of low-income women, and feminist urban theory provides a framework for this impact to be explored more fully by considering issues such as child and elder care, which are particularly relevant in the lives of women. Therefore, this analysis links feminist urban theory to housing mobility and social networks by specifically considering the unique experiences of women in urban spaces, thus extending past literature on neighborhood effects and offering policy recommendations that encompass the needs of women and children.

In this chapter, I summarize the results of my analysis, first providing an overview of the results and then a specific summary of the findings I presented in each of the analysis chapters. Next, I address the implications that this research has for housing policy specifically, and urban policy more broadly. In this section, I relate my discussion of policy implications to the findings and suggestions of other researchers who study

similar processes. I also use the narratives of some respondents who offered descriptions of suggestions of things they would like to see changed. I then discuss the limitations of this study, and, finally, I offer some thoughts on areas that future research should address.

## **Summary of Results**

### *Overview*

This analysis explores the durability of the Gautreaux Two program during the three-year period after the program's implementation in 2002. In the qualitative sample of program participants who made a move through the Gautreaux program, 53 percent had made a secondary move by the end of the 3 years, and 81 percent of these secondary moves were to "non-opportunity areas" as defined by the program requirements. This high percentage of non-opportunity secondary moves raises important questions about what factors influence respondents' moving decisions as well as the locations of those moves.

The results of this analysis show that several key factors motivated secondary moves, including hassles with landlords, substandard unit quality, distance from kin and support networks, and difficulty in creating new social ties in placement neighborhoods resulting in social isolation and transportation and financial difficulties. Primary reasons for why some respondents stayed in their Gautreaux neighborhoods were supportive relationships with landlords, good quality units, the ability to maintain ties with kin, and the development of relationships with new neighbors. There are a variety of factors that contributed to families' decisions to remain in opportunity areas, including employment in or near the Gautreaux neighborhood, possession of a car, and relatives and friends who lived nearby. Respondents who stayed in their placement neighborhoods were more

likely to be employed than those who made secondary moves, and those who moved to neighborhoods in the city were more likely to remain in those neighborhoods than respondents who moved to the suburbs. Another factor distinguishing families who remained in the opportunity areas is exposure to living outside of public housing prior to moving through the Gautreaux program. Families who returned to poor, racially segregated neighborhoods were less likely to have lived outside of public housing in the past five years than families who remained in opportunity areas.

While the high percentage of secondary moves to non-opportunity areas does not necessarily meet the stated goals of the Gautreaux Two program, the reasons for moving provide important information about what factors influence moving decisions as well as what other support services are needed to assist movers in their transitions to new neighborhoods. As is evident from the respondents' narratives, the Gautreaux Two participants generally valued the racial diversity of their Gautreaux neighborhoods, and many emphasized the importance of having their children live in racially diverse areas. While some respondents' children faced racial discrimination in their new neighborhoods and schools, this was not the primary impetus for making a secondary move. Thus, same-race preferences did not appear to enter into decision-making about moving on for the majority of Gautreaux respondents.

Instead, practical concerns about unit and landlord quality were paramount, as were connections with kin networks and social ties. For some families, their placement unit and landlord were of such poor quality that they saw no benefit to remaining in their placement unit and neighborhood while sacrificing their proximity to kin and social ties. For other respondents, the high quality of their placement unit was enough of a

motivation to remain in their opportunity area, even if doing so required sacrifices in other areas. Thus, the story of the durability of the Gautreaux Two program is not that participants simply had same-race preferences and moved on to neighborhoods that were similar to their baseline neighborhoods for that reason. Instead, participants cited practical reasons such as poor unit and landlord quality, transportation and financial issues along with the desire to be near kin and social networks. Consequently, it is important to recognize these factors when considering future policy.

### *Motivations for Moving*

Respondents had complicated perspectives about moving out of public housing. Most respondents were eager to move out of their baseline neighborhoods, although many also described things that they missed about these neighborhoods once they moved. One of the primary motivations families had for moving was to live in a safer neighborhood, especially for the sake of children. However, respondents also told detailed stories about the ways that they navigated the crime in these neighborhoods, evidence of how they managed the more difficult aspects of their neighborhoods. Parents also often discussed the prospect of moving to a good quality unit as beneficial for their children.

Parents had complicated viewpoints about the role of schools in motivating mobility decisions. Some parents discussed the poor quality of the baseline schools their children attended, and their desire to move to a neighborhood with better schools. Other parents highlighted the role of individual students in getting a good education and downplayed the importance of school quality. For these parents, schools were not a primary motivation for moving out of public housing.

Some respondents cited negative social ties as a motivating factor to move out of public housing. These narratives often consisted of frustration with neighbors borrowing things, asking for favors and “getting in their business.” Another common theme in these narratives was a lack of trust of neighbors and other social ties in respondents’ baseline neighborhoods.

Although most respondents were highly motivated to move out of public housing, many faced severe obstacles in locating an eligible unit and did not end up moving through Gautreaux. Some of these obstacles related to the poor implementation of the Gautreaux Two program. Respondents had difficulty locating qualified units due to lack of assistance from housing counselors, misunderstanding about program rules, and bureaucratic delays. Another key obstacle was the tight rental market that existed in Chicago at this time. Many respondents had difficulty finding units that met the bedroom requirements for using the housing voucher, and others were turned down by multiple discriminatory landlords. Other respondents struggled to carry out a housing search due to health problems and time constraints.

### *Complexity of Moving Experiences*

The experience of moving through the Gautreaux program was not uniform, as respondents had varying stories and outcomes. Social ties played a complicated role in respondents’ experiences in their new neighborhoods. Some respondents felt socially isolated in the neighborhoods they moved to, and greatly missed previous forms of child-care and other network support. The lack of sufficient public transportation in many of the suburban neighborhoods that respondents moved to complicated this problem. Respondents who already had family or friends in the opportunity area were much more

able to adapt to the new neighborhood and receive important support from family and friends. Thus, they did not experience as drastic a change in connection to social ties.

For many respondents there were negative financial implications of moving to opportunity areas, at least in the short term. Paying utilities, increased rents and difficulty commuting long distances to work created financial challenges. Opportunity areas often lacked subsidized activities and other resources that respondents had access to in their baseline neighborhoods.

Many respondents also had to deal with poor quality units in the opportunity areas. This was an unexpected component of respondents' transitions, as most cited moving to better quality units as an initial motivation for participating in the program. Due to challenges in acquiring units and difficulty finding landlords who accepted vouchers, many respondents ended up moving to deficient units. Other respondents were able to secure good quality units, and for these respondents, liking their new unit was a key factor in remaining in their opportunity area.

Children's adjustment to new neighborhoods was a key component of families' experiences in their new neighborhoods. Some children were able to connect with friendly neighbor children and join neighborhood activities. Others had trouble accessing neighborhood resources and felt bored and isolated in their new neighborhoods. For some children, schools were a helpful site of connection to other children and resources. However, others faced difficult challenges in their new schools, both academically and socially.

### *Neighborhood Racial Issues*

Race is a central issue in the Gautreaux Two program. Most respondents were black residents of public housing who, if they moved, relocated to neighborhoods with racial compositions that were very different than those of their baseline neighborhoods. Most respondents liked the idea of moving to racially diverse neighborhoods and expected that it would be a good experience for their children to do so. Very few overtly expressed aversion to the idea of moving to a racially diverse neighborhood, though several did. Instead, most found that the program's neighborhood racial composition requirement made it much more difficult to find an eligible neighborhood, but also expressed preference for living in a racially diverse area, with some concerns about potential racial tensions. Respondents who had previously lived outside of public housing expressed fewer concerns about moving to racially diverse neighborhoods than those who had not, as they had experience living in environments similar to what they expected an opportunity area to be like.

Families who moved through the program had mixed experiences; some faced racially motivated incidents and others did not. Some adults felt distanced from their neighbors along race, class and gender lines, as some narratives expressed concern about being stigmatized as single black mothers from housing projects. Other adults had very welcoming neighbors and did not feel these tensions.

Schools were a complicated site of racial and class issues for children. Many students who transferred to the opportunity area schools had previously attended very under-resourced schools in their baseline neighborhoods. Thus, some had difficulty

transitioning to the academic rigor of these new schools and many did not receive enough support to smoothly adjust to the new school. Other students excelled in their new school environments, and keeping their children in opportunity area schools was an important factor in remaining in their placement neighborhoods for some parents.

### **Policy Implications**

Since the Gautreaux Two program did not generally result in high rates of durability for participants, it is important to recognize what aspects of the program could be improved to inform housing mobility program policies more generally. One way to address this is to examine similar mobility programs with more favorable results. One such program is the partial remedy to the *Thompson vs. HUD* desegregation case in Baltimore. Similar to the original Gautreaux program, the Thompson program was implemented in response to public housing residents' lawsuit citing racial segregation in public housing in Baltimore. As a partial remedy to the case, in 1996, 2,000 housing vouchers were given to the plaintiffs to be used in census tracts that met the following criteria: less than 30 black, less than 10 percent poor, and less than 5 percent of residents living in public housing. Just over half of these vouchers had been used as of 2008, and the program has a much higher retention rate than the Gautreaux Two program with the vast majority of the Thompson families still living in their placement unit one to four years later after moving (DeLuca and Rosenblatt 2009). The Thompson program had a much lower requirement for census tract poverty level of 10 percent compared to 23.49 percent for Gautreaux Two. This could have implications for the quality of neighborhoods and even the units to which families were moving. Also, the Thompson program had very thorough pre-move counseling and post-move follow-ups for

participants (DeLuca and Rosenblatt 2009), unlike Gautreaux Two, which had a weak implementation of counseling services (Pashup et al. 2005). Better quality pre-move counseling and the availability of post-move counseling may have improved the results of the Thompson program and may therefore be important to consider implementing in other housing mobility programs, as well as future policy reform more generally.

Many of the factors that made it difficult for families to make an initial move through the Gautreaux Two program also influenced the durability of the program. One of the primary recommendations for an increase in “voucher success” made by Pashup et al. (2005) is the need for further housing counseling to assist families in locating units in eligible neighborhoods. Since families had to conduct their own housing search in a tight rental market, many families had limited viable options for units in opportunity areas and ended up not being satisfied with the quality of their units and landlords. Participants would benefit from the assistance of housing counselors in negotiating with landlords. More strategic program implementation which provides further assistance during the housing search would also help ensure that participants are placed in higher quality units with reliable landlords.

Pashup et al. (2005) also make recommendations for addressing the issue of large families having difficulty securing units that meet the bedroom requirements to use a voucher. They suggest adjusting the Fair Market Rents (FMR) for large units to increase the financial viability of using a voucher for these more expensive units. Additionally, they recommend authorizing household splits if some members are adults capable of heading a separate household, and providing housing assistance for the securing of multiple units to accommodate the new households.

Assistance beyond just housing counseling is also necessary. Providing participants with information about utility bill payment plans would benefit their transition out of public housing, particularly participants who have little to no experience living outside of public housing. Further counseling and support about the potential financial implications of moving could help participants prepare ahead of time. Anita, who moved from Lathrop Homes to Wrigleyville through Gautreaux Two, struggled financially when she made the opportunity area move. When asked if she thinks it would have been helpful to take a class prior to moving that described the potential financial responsibilities she would face, Anita says:

I think it might have been. Well, with me, I knew I was going to have to do those things. I just didn't know, and I think people just don't know how high the electricity and the gas is. So probably a class would be out there for them to get a real look at the pricing on the units and how they do the pricing for the gas and stuff like that, because people don't know, because I didn't know... And they need to, I mean, that's just one part of the program they need to work on, is having that resource. You think they'd have that resource, the way they talk to you, that they are there, for that support, but it's not there.

Also, providing families with information about which neighborhoods would best meet their families' needs is crucial. Important considerations include what support local service organizations offer as well as the accessibility of public transportation from neighborhoods. Of course, participants also need further support to alleviate the difficulties of relocating to an area that is distant from their social support networks.

As this analysis shows, crucial social ties were key reasons why families moved back to poor, racially segregated neighborhoods near their baseline neighborhoods. However, families who had social networks in or near their Gautreaux neighborhoods were more likely to remain in these opportunity area neighborhoods. Respondents who

made secondary moves to opportunity areas often had family living in the opportunity area to which they moved, highlighting the importance of social ties in influencing mobility decisions.

This importance of social support points to several policy implications. Assisting families to relocate to areas where they have family and friends in or near opportunity areas or allowing two or more families or subfamilies who are voucher eligible to move as a group to a given locale are possibilities. Jia, a Gautreaux respondent who lived in Altgeld Gardens and did not end up moving through the program, describes the idea of families moving together. When asked what she would do if she were designing a housing mobility program, she says:

If I had to set up a program like this I would first find the area on each side of town that will you know like...Where I came from like Alba, a lot of people over there got Section 8, and a lot of them are friends and grew up together, children grew up together. I would try to find an area that could take maybe four or five families you know, and maybe these four or five families that came up together would like to get in this area and four or five families in this area you know, if...I would, that's what I would do.

Furthermore, this analysis points to the need for continued support for participants beyond the initial placement, as not all will be able to connect with neighborhood networks and services on their own. Continued program assistance could intentionally connect program participants with neighborhood institutions and resources such as churches, community groups, neighbors and schools to assist families in developing connections and accessing local resources in their new neighborhoods. Subsidized child-care, after-school, and recreation programs and the provision of other in-kind assistance that is often only available from kin can alleviate some of the financial burdens that mobility programs may inadvertently impose. In her analysis of the changes in

children's' activities when moving through Gautreaux Two, Zuberi (2010) emphasizes the importance of offering financial support for low-income families to be able to involve their children in neighborhood activities that otherwise may only be accessible by more affluent children. Assisting families in the adjustment process to new neighborhoods is crucial.

Other policy recommendations might include offering incentives for voucher holders to remain longer in their placement moves, or to make subsequent moves to other opportunity areas. The landlords could also be provided with incentives to retain their tenants into a second year. DeLuca and Rosenblatt (2009) found that families who participated in the Thompson program who remained in their placement neighborhood for eighteen months were much less likely to make a secondary move than families who did not remain in their placement neighborhood as long as eighteen months. This suggests that connecting to a new neighborhood does not happen immediately and requires time, and, I argue, assistance and support in that process.

Since most respondents had school-aged children, targeting schools as a source of additional support would be a fairly straightforward response. Since many students who transferred to opportunity area schools previously attended under-resourced schools and struggled academically in their new schools, providing additional academic mentoring programs for these students could improve their academic success. Some students also had trouble adjusting socially, feeling socially different from the majority of the students in the new school. Providing a support system for students through an extra-curricular group or a one-on-one mentoring program could also be very helpful. As DeLuca and Rosenblatt (2010) suggest, it would be beneficial for mobility counselors to assist parents in

gathering information about local schools and connect them to academic programs that could improve their children's educational achievement.

Of course, many of the concerns related to under-resourced schools reflect the broader issues of inequality in urban areas more generally. It is important to think about the policy implications of respondents' experiences in their baseline neighborhoods, as it is not feasible to move everyone living in impoverished neighborhoods to more resourced areas. While broad urban policy reform is outside the scope of this project, I think it is necessary to consider housing policy in connection with policies related to education, the workforce, transportation, crime, child-care and health care. Families' baseline narratives and motivations for moving out of public housing reflect these concerns. Children's experiences in under-resourced schools, parents' concerns about crime and safety issues, lack of positive police involvement, and poor quality housing units all signal the need for understanding how all of these issues relate to each other and collectively shape families' quality of life. Housing mobility programs that simply focus on the housing piece will not successfully address the wide realm of factors that are important to families.

The results of the Gautreaux Two program and the themes addressed in this paper have implications for future housing mobility programs and other policies related to low-income housing. Given the broad usage of Housing Choice Vouchers in current housing policy, it is important to consider how the lessons from Gautreaux Two can inform our understanding of the HCV program. The insight from the Gautreaux Two participants' experiences can shed light on the processes and outcomes of the HCV program, as it is important to know the reasons behind families' residential moves, and families who receive a Housing Choice Voucher likely face many of the same obstacles that the

Gautreaux Two participants did. These policy recommendations from the Gautreaux Two program could prove helpful when considering what further support systems would benefit HCV recipients.

### **Limitations**

In Chapter 2, I addressed the ways that I sought to make this research as sound as possible. However, it is necessary to highlight the limitations of this project in order for the analysis to be framed appropriately. These multiple limitations must be kept in mind when considering the results of this analysis.

While this study provides rich, detailed data on the Gautreaux Two participants' experiences with this particular program, caution should be used when attempting to generalize these results to other geographic and program contexts. It is important to remember that participants in the Gautreaux Two program self-selected into the program; they signed up, attended orientation sessions, and met the requirements for participation. Thus, the respondents in this sample may have different characteristics at the outset than other residents of public housing who did not participate. Therefore, while I believe that the processes described in the narratives of the participants provide useful insight into understanding neighborhood experiences in housing mobility programs, these results cannot be transferred to other metropolitan or program contexts without careful consideration.

There are tradeoffs when engaging in a large-scale qualitative project such as this. I had access to a vast amount of data, 431 interviews, which is a rarity in qualitative research and allows for a broader understanding of the range of participant experiences. However, since I did not participate in all of the data collection, my ability to reflect on

my positionality in the interview experience is limited. I utilized interviewers' field notes to gain as much contextual insight as possible, but the fact that I was not present at the majority of interviews and did not interact with most of the respondents is a limiting factor.

In terms of the actual interviews, respondents' ability to recall specific events may be limited, and this should be considered when understanding respondents' narratives. However, conducting four waves of interviews and bi-monthly check-ins with respondents limited the amount of recall that was required. Another limitation of this research is that the interviews did not capture families' long-term interactions in new neighborhoods. Data collection stopped in 2005, and while conducting four waves of interviews is certainly a strength of this research, it is important to bear in mind that these data were collected over a concentrated time period. Therefore, the data do not capture the long-term effects of the program on participants' residential choices and individual outcomes.

### **Future Research**

While the focus of this analysis is respondents' mobility decisions and initial experiences in new neighborhoods, it would be beneficial for future research to address the long-term experiences and outcomes of residing in opportunity areas. It would be quite interesting to re-interview respondents now that five years have past to get a more extensive understanding of the processes involved in adjusting to new neighborhoods, as well as find out what subsequent mobility decisions respondents made. Future research on mobility programs or Housing Choice Voucher usage should build in a long-term data collection plan to fully assess the long-range transition experiences of families.

I also think it would be beneficial for future qualitative research to be done with HCV recipients or housing mobility program participants in other metropolitan areas to further our understanding of how contextual factors affect participants' experiences and program outcomes. As discussed, there were aspects of the Gautreaux Two program that may have been unique to the context of Chicago during the time of the program. Thus, it would be useful to conduct qualitative interviews with families participating in housing programs in different cities, and for this research to be compared and contrasted to tease out some of the important contextual components.

Related to this is the need for further inquiry into the role of receiving communities in families' transition processes, as well as an assessment of the efficacy of programs that seek to assist families once they have moved to a new neighborhood. Future qualitative research would gain useful insight by interviewing landlords, neighbors, community leaders and school representatives to further understand the context to which families are moving. It is likely that various cities and neighborhoods provide very different environments for families who are moving, and this would require different approaches to assisting families in the adjustment process. Assessing the programs and resources that currently exist in receiving communities could provide insight into which programs are successful, and how these programs can be implemented more widely, and in contextually appropriate ways. While housing mobility and other voucher programs are certainly not the only avenue of addressing segregation and inequality in our cities, they should be implemented as effectively as possible in order to maximize opportunities for families.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aaronson, Daniel. 1998. "Using Sibling Data to Estimate the Impact of Neighborhoods on Children's Educational Outcomes." *The Journal of Human Resources* 33(4):915-946.
- , 1997. "Sibling Estimates of Neighborhood Effects." Pp. 80-93 in *Neighborhood Poverty: Volume II* edited by Jeanne Brooks-Gunn, Greg J. Duncan and J. Lawrence Aber. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Adams, Carolyn, David Bartelt, David Elesh and Ira Goldstein, with Joshua Freely and Michelle Schmitt. 2008. *Restructuring the Philadelphia Region: Metropolitan Divisions and Inequality*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Adams, Carolyn, David Bartelt, David Elesh, Ira Goldstein, Nancy Kleniewski, and William Yancey. 1991. *Philadelphia: Neighborhoods, Division, and Conflict in a Postindustrial City*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Allard, Scott W., and Sheldon Danzinger. 2003. "Proximity and Opportunity: How Residence and Race Affect the Employment of Welfare Recipients." *Housing Policy Debate* 13(4):675-700.
- Allport, Gordon J. 1954. *The Nature of Prejudice*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Bellair, Paul E. 1997. "Social Interaction and Community Crime: Examining the Importance of Neighbor Networks." *Criminology* 35(4):677-704.

- Bobo, Lawrence, and Camille Zubrinsky. 1996. "Attitudes on Residential Integration: Perceived Status Differences, Mere In-Group Preference, or Racial Prejudice?" *Social Forces* 74(4):883-909.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986. "The Forms of Capital." Pp. 241-258 in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by John Richardson. New York: Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Boyd, Melody L. and Kimberly A. Goyette. 2010. "Moving into Line: The Educational, Occupational, and Family Ambitions of the Youth of Gautreaux II." *Sociological Studies of Children and Youth* 13(1):373-398
- Boyd, Melody L., Kathryn Edin, Susan Clampet-Lundquist and Greg Duncan. 2010. "The Durability of the Gautreaux Two Residential Mobility Program: A Qualitative Analysis of Who Stays and Who Moves from Low-Poverty Neighborhoods." *Housing Policy Debate* 20(1):116-143.
- Boyd, Melody L. 2008. "The Role of Social Networks in Making Housing Choices: The Experience of the Gautreaux Two Residential Mobility Program" *Cityscape* 10(1): 41-64.
- Briggs, Xavier de Souza. 2008. "Maximum Feasible Misdirection: A Reply to Imbroscio." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 30(2):131-137.
- 1998. "Brown Kids in White Suburbs: Housing Mobility and the Many Faces of Social Capital." *Housing Policy Debate* 9(1):177-221.
- 1997. "Moving Up versus Moving Out: Neighborhood Effects in Housing Mobility Programs." *Housing Policy Debate* 8(1):195-234.

- Briggs, Xavier de Souza , Jennifer Comey, and Gretchen Weismann. 2010. "Struggling to Stay Out of High-Poverty Neighborhoods: Housing Choice and Locations in Moving to Opportunity's First Decade." *Housing Policy Debate* 20(3):383-427.
- Brooks-Gunn, Jeanne, Greg Duncan, Tama Leventhal, and J. Lawrence Aber. 1997. "Lessons Learned and Future Directions for Research on the Neighborhoods in Which Children Live." Pp. 279-297 in *Neighborhood Poverty: Context and Consequences for Children*, vol. 1, edited by Jeanne Brooks-Gunn, Greg Duncan, and J. Lawrence Aber. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Brooks-Gunn, Jeanne and Roberta L. Paikoff. 1993. "'Sex Is a Gamble, Kissing Is a Game': Adolescent Sexuality, Contraception, and Pregnancy." Pp. 180-208 in *Promoting the Health of Adolescents: New Directions for the Twenty-first Century* edited by Susan G. Millstein, Anne C. Peterson and Elena O. Nightingale. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Case, Anne and Lawrence F. Katz. 1991. "The Company You Keep: The Effects of Family and Neighborhood on Disadvantaged Youths." NBER Working Paper No. W3705. Available at <http://ssrn.com/abstract=226935>
- Charles, Camille Zubrinsky. 2005. "Can We Live Together? Racial Preferences and Neighborhood Outcomes. Pp. 45-80 in *The Geography of Opportunity: Race and Housing Choice in Metropolitan America*, edited by Xavier de Souza Briggs. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- , 2000. "Neighborhood Racial-Composition Preferences: Evidence from a Multiethnic Metropolis." *Social Problems* 47(3):379-407.

- Chung, He Len and Laurence Steinberg. 2006. "Relations Between Neighborhood Factors, Parenting Behaviors, Peer Deviance, and Delinquency Among Serious Juvenile Offenders." *Developmental Psychology* 42(2):319-331.
- Clampet-Lundquist. 2010. "'Everyone Had Your Back': Social Ties, Perceived Safety, and Public Housing Relocation." *City and Community* 9(1):87-108.
- , 2007. "No More 'Bois Ball: The Effect of Relocation from Public Housing on Adolescents." *Journal of Adolescent Research* 22(3):298-323.
- , 2004. "Hope VI Relocation: Moving to New Neighborhoods and Building New Ties." *Housing Policy Debate* 15(2):415-447.
- Clampet-Lundquist, Susan, Kathryn Edin, Jeffrey R. Kling, and Greg J. Duncan. Forthcoming. "Moving At-Risk Teenagers out of High-Risk Neighborhoods: Why Girls Fare Better than Boys." Forthcoming in *American Journal of Sociology*
- Clampet-Lundquist, Susan and Douglas S. Massey. 2008. Neighborhood Effects on Economic Self-Sufficiency: A Reconsideration of the Moving to Opportunity Experiment. *American Journal of Sociology* 114(1):107-143.
- Clark, William A.V. 1991. "Residential Preferences and Neighborhood Racial Segregation: A Test of the Schelling Segregation Model." *Demography* 28(1):1-19.
- Coleman, James S. 1988. "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital." *American Journal of Sociology* 94(supplement):S95-S120.
- , 1990. *Foundations of Social Theory*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- Collins, Patricia Hill. 1990. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.
- Common Core of Data 2002-2003: U.S. Department of Education Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics [Computer file]. Washington, DC. <http://nces.ed.gov/ccd/>
- Connell, James P. and Bonnie L. Halpern-Felsher. 1997. "How Neighborhoods Affect Educational Outcomes in Middle Childhood and Adolescence: Conceptual Issues and an Empirical Example." Pp. 174-199 in *Neighborhood Poverty: Volume I* edited by Jeanne Brooks-Gunn, Greg J. Duncan and J. Lawrence Aber. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Crane, Jonathan. 1991. "The Epidemic Theory of Ghettos and Neighborhood Effects on Dropping Out and Teenage Childbearing." *American Journal of Sociology* 96:1226-59.
- Crowder, Kyle D. 2001. "Racial Stratification in the Actuation of Mobility Expectations: Microlevel Impacts of Racially Restrictive Housing Markets." *Social Forces* 79(4):1377-1396.
- DeLuca, Stefanie, Greg J. Duncan, Micere Keels and Ruby Mendenhall. 2010. "Gautreaux Mothers and Their Children: An Update." *Housing Policy Debate* 20(1):7-25.
- DeLuca, Stefanie and Peter Rosenblatt. 2010. "Does Moving to Better Neighborhoods Lead to Better School Opportunities? Parental School Choice in an Experimental Housing Voucher Program." *Teachers College Record* 112(5):1443-1491.
- DeLuca, Stefanie, and Peter Rosenblatt. 2009. *Leaving the Ghetto: Residential Mobility*

and Opportunity in Baltimore. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco.

DeLuca, Stefanie and James E. Rosenbaum. 2003. "If Low-Income Blacks Are Given a Chance to Live in White Neighborhoods, Will They Stay? Examining Mobility Patterns in a Quasi-Experimental Program with Administrative Data." *Housing Policy Debate* 14(3):305-345.

Deutsch, Sarah. 2000. *Women and the City: Gender, Power and Space in Boston, 1870-1940*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Devine, Deborah J., Robert W. Gray, Lester Rubin, and Lydia B. Taghavi. 2003. *Housing Choice Voucher Location Patterns: Implications for Participants and Neighborhood Welfare*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Urban Housing and Development, Office of Policy Development and Research.

Domosh, Mona. 1998. "Geography and Gender: Home Again?" *Progress in Human Geography* 22:276-282.

Dreier, Peter, John Mollenkopf and Todd Swanstrom. 2004. *Place Matters: Metropolitcs for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas.

Duncan, Greg J. 1994. "Families and Neighbors as Sources of Disadvantage in the Schooling Decisions of Black and White Adolescents." *American Journal of Education* 103(1):20- 53.

Dyck, Isabel. 1996. "Women's Support Networks." Pp. 123-140 in *Who Will Mind the Baby? Geographies of Child Care and Working Mothers*, edited by Kim England. London: Routledge.

- Edin, Kathryn and Maria Kefalas. 2005. *Promises I Can Keep: Why Poor Women Put Motherhood before Marriage*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Edin, Kathryn, and Laura Lein. 1997. *Making Ends Meet: How Single Mothers Survive Welfare and Low-Wage Work*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Ellen, Ingrid Gould, and Margery A. Turner. 1997. "Does Neighborhood Matter? Assessing Recent Evidence." *Housing Policy Debate* 8(4):833-66.
- Elliot, Delbert S., William Julius Wilson, David Huizinga, Robert J. Sampson, Amanda Elliot, and Bruce Rankin. 1996. "The Effects of Neighborhood Disadvantage on Adolescent Development." *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 33(4):389-426.
- Elliott, James R. 1999. "Social Isolation and Labor Market Insulation: Network and Neighborhood Effects on Less-Educated Urban Workers." *Sociological Quarterly* 40(2):199-216.
- England, Kim. 1996. "Who Will Mind the Baby?" Pp. 3-22 in *Who Will Mind the Baby? Geographies of Child Care and Working Mothers*, edited by Kim England. London: Routledge.
- Feins, Judith D. and Rhiannon Patterson. 2005. "Geographic Mobility in the Housing Choice Voucher Program: A Study of Families Entering the Program, 1995-2002." *Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development and Research* 8(2):21-47.
- Fletcher, Anne C., Nancy E. Darling, Laurence Steinberg, Sanford Dornbusch. 1995. "The Company They Keep: Relation of Adolescents' Adjustment and Behavior to

- Their Friends' Perceptions of Authoritative Parenting in the Social Network.”  
*Developmental Psychology* 31(2):300-310.
- Furstenberg, Frank F. Jr., and Mary Elizabeth Hughes. 1995. “Social Capital and Successful Development Among At-Risk Youth.” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 57(1):580-595.
- Galster, George C., and Sean P. Killen. 1995. “The Geography of Metropolitan Opportunity: A Reconnaissance and Conceptual Framework.” *Housing Policy Debate* 6(1):7-43.
- Gans, Herbert. 2002. “The Sociology of Space: A Use-Centered View.” *City and Community* 1(4):329-340.
- Gellman, Erik. 2005. “Robert Taylor Homes.” *Encyclopedia of Chicago*. Available at <http://encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/2478.html>
- Gephart, Martha A. 1997. “Neighborhoods and Communities as Contexts for Development.” Pp. 1-43 in *Neighborhood Poverty: Volume I* edited by Jeanne Brooks-Gunn, Greg J. Duncan and J. Lawrence Aber. New York: Russell Sage
- Gieryn, Thomas F. 2002. “Give Place a Chance: Reply to Gans.” *City and Community* 1(4):341-343.
- Gilbert, Melissa R. 1998. “Race, Space, and Power: The Survival Strategies of Working Poor Women.” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 88(4):595-621.
- .. 1997. “Feminism and Difference in Urban Geography.” *Urban Geography* 18:166-179.

- Goering, John and Judith Feins. 2008. "Social Science, Housing Policy, and the Harmful Effects of Poverty." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 30(2):139-148.
- Granovetter, Mark. 1973. "The Strength of Weak Ties." *American Journal of Sociology* 78(6):1360-1366.
- Greene, Sara Sternberg, Melody L. Boyd and Kathryn Edin. 2010. "In and Out of Financial Crisis: The Role of Family Networks." Working Paper.
- Hayden, Dolores. 1984. *Redesigning the American Dream*. New York: Norton.
- , 1981. "What Would a Non-sexist City Be Like? Speculations on Housing, Urban Design, and Human Work." Pp. 167-184 in *Women and the American City*, edited by Catharine R. Stimpson, Elsa Dixler, Martha J. Nelson, and Kathryn B. Yatrakis. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Hirsch, Arnold R. 1983. *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago 1940-1960*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hogan, Dennis P. and Evelyn M. Kitagawa. 1985. "The Impact of Social Status, Family Structure and Neighborhood on the Fertility of Black Adolescents." *American Journal of Sociology* 90(4):825-55.
- Houseknecht, Sharon K. and Susan K. Lewis. 2005. "Explaining Teen Childbearing and Cohabitation: Community Embeddedness and Primary Ties." *Family Relations* 54(1):607-620.

- Howell-Moroney, Michael. 2005. "The Geography of Opportunity and Unemployment: An Integrated Model of Residential Segregation and Spatial Mismatch." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 27(4):353-378.
- Hunt, Bradford D. 2001. "What Went Wrong with Public Housing in Chicago? A History of the Robert Taylor Homes." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* Spring Edition.
- Imbroscio, David. 2008. "[U]nited and Actuated by Some Common Impulse of Passion': Challenging the Dispersal Consensus in American Housing Policy Research." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 30(2):111-130.
- Jacobs, Jane. 1961. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Random House.
- Jencks, Christopher and Susan E. Mayer. 1990. "The Social Consequences of Growing Up in a Poor Neighborhood." Pp. 111-186 in *Inner-City Poverty in the United States* edited by Laurence E. Lynn, Jr., and Michael G.H. McGeary. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.
- Katz, Lawrence F., Jeffrey R. Kling and Jeffrey B. Liebman. 2001. "Moving to Opportunity in Boston: Early Results of a Randomized Mobility Experiment." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 116(2):607-654.
- Keels, Micere. 2008a. "Second-Generation Effects of Chicago's Gautreaux Residential Mobility Program on Children's Participation in Crime." *Journal of Research on Adolescence* 18(2):305-352.

- , 2008b. "Residential Attainment of Now-Adult Gautreaux Children: Do they Gain, Hold or Lose Ground in Neighborhood Ethnic and Economic Segregation?" *Housing Studies* 23(4):541-564.
- Keels, Micere, Greg Duncan, Stephanie DeLuca, Ruby Mendenhall and James Rosenbaum. 2005. "Fifteen Years Later: Can Residential Mobility Programs Provide A Long-Term Escape from Neighborhood Segregation, Crime and Poverty?" *Demography* 42(1):51-73.
- Kissane, Rebecca, and Susan Clampet-Lundquist. 2005. "Friends, Jobs, and Moving To Opportunity." Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association.
- Kleit, Rachel Garshick. 2001. "The Role of Neighborhood Social Networks in Scattered-Site Public Housing Residents' Search for Jobs." *Housing Policy Debate* 12(3):541-573.
- Kling, Jeffrey R., Jeffrey B. Liebman and Lawrence F. Katz. 2007. "Experimental Analysis of Neighborhood Effects." *Econometrica* 75(1):83-119.
- Lamborn, Susie D., Sanford M. Dornbusch, and Laurence Steinberg. 1996. "Ethnicity and Community Context as Moderators of the Relations between Family Decision Making and Adolescent Adjustment." *Child Development* 67:283-301.
- Lefebvre, Henri. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Leventhal, Tama and Jeanne Brooks-Gunn. 2000. "The Neighborhoods They Live In: The Effects of Neighborhood Residence on Child and Adolescent Outcomes." *Psychological Bulletin* 126(2):309-337.

- Lin, Nan. 2001a. "Building a Network Theory of Social Capital." Pp. 3-30 in *Social Capital Theory and Research* edited by Nan Lin, Karen Cook, and Ronald S. Burt. Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- . 2001b. *Social Capital: A Theory of Social Structure and Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1999. "Social Networks and Status Attainment." *American Review of Sociology* 25:467-487.
- Lincoln, Yvonna S. 1995. "Emerging Criteria for Quality in Qualitative and Interpretive Research." *Qualitative Inquiry* 1(3):275-289.
- Lincoln, Yvonna S. and Egon G. Guba. 1985. *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Logan, John R., Richard D. Alba and Shu-Yin Leung. 1996. "Minority Access to White Suburbs: A Multiregional Comparison." *Social Forces* 74(3):851-881.
- Lubell, Jeffrey M., Mark Shroder, and Barry Steffen. 2003. "Work Participation and Length of Stay in HUD-Assisted Housing." *Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development and Research* 6(2): 207-23.
- Ludwig, Jens, Greg J. Duncan and Paul Hirschfield. 2001. "Urban Poverty and Juvenile Crime: Evidence from a Randomized Housing-Mobility Experiment." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 116(2):655-679.
- Lusignan, Paul R. 2002. "Public Housing in the United States, 1933-1949." *Cultural Resource Management* 25(1):36-37.

- Massey, Doreen. 1994. *Space, Place, and Gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Massey, Douglas S., Gretchen A. Condran, and Nancy A. Denton. 1987. "The Effect of Residential Segregation on Black Social and Economic Well-Being." *Social Forces* 66:29-56.
- Massey, Douglas, and Nancy Denton. 1993. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Massey, Douglas S., Andrew Gross and Mitchell Eggers. 1991. "Segregation, the Concentration of Poverty, and the Life Chances of Individuals." *Social Science Research* 20(4):397-420.
- Mayer, Susan E., and Christopher Jencks. 1989. "Growing up in Poor Neighborhoods: How Much Does it Matter?" *Science, New Series*, 243(Mar.):1441-1445.
- McDowell, Linda. 1993. "Space, Place, and Gender Relations: Part 1. Feminist Empiricism and the Geography of Social Relations." *Progress in Human Geography* 17:157-179.
- McPherson, Miller, Lynn Smith-Lovin and James Cook. 2001. "Birds of a Feather: Homophily in Social Networks." *American Review of Sociology* 27:415-444.
- Mendenall, Ruby, Stefanie DeLuca, and Greg Duncan. 2006. "Neighborhood Resources, Racial Segregation, and Economic Mobility: Results from the Gautreaux Program." *Social Science Research* 35(4):892-923.
- Mendenhall, Ruby. 2005a. "Three Generations of Social Mobility in Gautreaux Families: An Ecological and Life Course Perspective." Unpublished Manuscript.

- Mendenhall, Ruby. 2005b. "Black Women in Gautreaux's Housing Desegregation Program: The Role of Neighborhoods and Networks in Economic Independence." Unpublished dissertation, Northwestern University.
- Meyerson, Martin and Edward C. Banfield. 1955. *Politics, Planning, and the Public Interest*. New York: The Free Press.
- Mounts, Nina S. and Laurence Steinberg. 1995. "An Ecological Analysis of Peer Influence on Adolescent Grade-Point Average and Drug Use. *Developmental Psychology* 31(1):915-922.
- Moving to Opportunity Program Details. National Bureau of Economic Research. Available at <http://www.nber.org/mtopublic/>
- National Fair Housing Advocate Online. 2006. "Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities Closing Statement." Available at <http://www.fairhousing.com/index.cfm?method=page.display&pageid=3659>
- National Low Income Housing Coalition. 2007. "Testimony of George Moses, Chair, Board of Directors, National Low Income Housing Coalition." Presented to House Financial Services Subcommittee on Housing and Community Opportunity, United States House of Representatives, June 21, 2007. Available at [http://www.nlihc.org/detail/article.cfm?article\\_id=4285](http://www.nlihc.org/detail/article.cfm?article_id=4285)
- National Low Income Housing Coalition. 2005. "Housing Vouchers: A Review of Empirical Literature between 2000 and 2004." Prepared by the National Low Income Housing Coalition for the National Housing Voucher Summit.

- Newman, Sandra J., and Ann B. Schnare. 1997. "‘And a Suitable Living Environment’: The Failure of Housing Programs to Deliver on Neighborhood Quality." *Housing Policy Debate* 8(4):703-741.
- Nyden, Philip. 1998. "Comment on James E. Rosenbaum, Linda K. Stroh, and Cathy A. Flynn’s ‘Lake Parc Place: A Study of Mixed-Income Housing.’" *Housing Policy Debate* 9(4):741-748.
- Orr, Larry, Judith D. Feins, Robin Jacob, Erik Beecroft, Lisa Sanbonmatsu, Lawrence F. Katz, Jeffrey B. Liebman, and Jeffrey Kling. 2003. "Moving to Opportunity for Fair Housing Demonstration Program: Interim Impacts Evaluation." Report prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development by Abt Associates, Inc., and the National Bureau of Economic Research. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research.
- Pashup, Jennifer, Kathryn Edin, Greg J. Duncan, and Karen Burke. 2005. "Residential Mobility Program Participation from the Client’s Perspective: Findings from Gautreaux Two." *Housing Policy Debate* 16(3/4):361-392.
- Perry, Brea L. 2006. "Understanding Social Network Disruption: The Case of Youth in Foster Care." *Social Problems* 53(3):371-391.
- Peterson, Ruth, and Lauren J. Krivo. 1993. "Racial Segregation and Black Urban Homicide." *Social Forces* 71(4):1001-1026.
- Piselli, Fortunata. 2007. "Communities, Places, and Social Networks." *American Behavioral Scientist* 50(7):867-878.

- Polikoff, Alex. 2010. "Overview: Three Remaining HOPE VI Challenges." *Housing Policy Debate* 20(1):147-151.
- 2006. *Waiting for Gautreaux: A Story of Segregation, Housing and the Black Ghetto*. Chicago: Northwestern University Press.
- Popkin, Susan J. 2010. "A Glass Half Empty? New Evidence from the HOPE VI Panel Study." *Housing Policy Debate* 20(1):43-63.
- Popkin, Susan J., Bruce Katz, Mary K. Cunningham, Karen D. Brown, Jeremy Gustafson and Margery Austin Turner. 2004. "A Decade of HOPE VI: Research Findings and Policy Challenges." Urban Institute. Available at <http://www.urban.org/url.cfm?ID=411002>
- Popkin, Susan J. and Mary K. Cunningham. 2005. "Beyond the Projects: Lessons from Public Housing Transformation in Chicago." Pp. 176-196 In *The Geography of Opportunity: Race and Housing Choice in Metropolitan America* edited by Xavier de Souza Briggs. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.
- Portes, Alejandro. 1998. "Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology." *Annual Review of Sociology* 24:1-24.
- Rasinski, Kenneth A., Lisa Lee and Catherine Haggerty. 2010. "Functional and Social Neighborhood Integration of Leaseholders Relocated into Public and Private Housing by the Chicago Housing Authority's Plan for Transformation." *Housing Policy Debate* 20(1):65-89.
- Rosenbaum, James and Anita Zuberi. 2010. "Comparing Residential Mobility Programs: Design Elements, Neighborhood Placements, and Outcomes in MTO and Gautreaux." *Housing Policy Debate* 20(1):27-41.

- Rosenbaum, James, Stefanie DeLuca, and Tammy Tuck. 2005. "New Capabilities in New Places: Low-Income Black Families in Suburbia." Pp. 150-175 In *The Geography of Opportunity: Race and Housing Choice in Metropolitan America* edited by Xavier de Souza Briggs. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.
- Rosenbaum, James and Stefanie DeLuca. 2000. "Is Housing Mobility the Key to Welfare Reform?: Lessons from Chicago's Gautreaux Program." Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.
- Rosenbaum, James E., Linda K. Stroh and Cathy A. Flynn. 1998. "Lake Parc Place: A Study of Mixed-Income Housing." *Housing Policy Debate* 9(4):703-740.
- Rubinowitz, Leonard S. and James E. Rosenbaum. 2001. *Crossing the Class and Color Lines: From Public Housing to White Suburbia*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Sampson, Robert J., Jeffrey D. Morenoff, and Felton Earls. 1999. "Beyond Social Capital: Spatial Dynamics of Collective Efficacy for Children." *American Sociological Review* 64(5):633-660.
- Sampson, Robert J., Jeffrey D. Morenoff, and Thomas Gannon-Rowley. 2002. "Assessing Neighborhood Effects": Social Processes and New Directions in Research." *Annual Review of Sociology*. 28, 443-478.
- Sampson, Robert J., Stephen Raudenbush, and Felton Earls. 1997. "Neighborhoods and Violent Crime: A Multilevel Study of Collective Efficacy." *Science*, 277(15), 918-924.

- Sanbonmatsu, Lisa, Jeffrey R. Kling, Greg J. Duncan and Jeanne Brooks-Gunn. 2006. "Neighborhoods and Academic Achievement: Results from the Moving to Opportunity Experiment." *The Journal of Human Resources* 41(4):649-691.
- Sarkisian, Natalia and Naomi Gerstel. 2004. "Kin Support among Blacks and Whites: Race and Family Organization." *American Sociological Review* 69:812-837.
- Sedlak, Wendy Cathleen Elizabeth, 2008, "'Getting to Know Your Neighbor': The Efficacy of Social Networks in Mixed-Income Housing." Unpublished Dissertation, Temple University.
- Shlay, Anne B. 1993. "Shaping Place: Institutions and Metropolitan Development Patterns." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 15(5):387-404.
- Shlay, Anne B. and DiGregorio, Denise A. 1985. "Same City, Different Worlds: Examining Gender- and Work-Based Differences in Perceptions of Neighborhood Desirability." *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 21:66-86.
- Smith, Sandra Susan. 2010. "Race and Trust." *American Review of Sociology* 36(1):453-475.
- Smith Sandra Susan. 2007. *Lone Pursuit: Distrust and Defensive Individualism among the Black Poor*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Spain, Daphne. 2002. "What Happened to Gender Relations on the Way from Chicago to Los Angeles." *City and Community* 1(2):155-168.
- Spencer, Margaret Beale, Paul A. McDermott, Linda M. Burton and Tedd Jay Kochman. 1997. "An Alternative Approach to Assessing Neighborhood Effects on Early

- Adolescent Achievement and Problem Behavior.” Pp. 145-163 in *Neighborhood Poverty: Volume II* edited by Jeanne Brooks-Gunn, Greg J. Duncan and J. Lawrence Aber. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Stack, Carol B. 1974. *All Our Kin: Strategies for Survival in a Black Community*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Stoll, Michael A. 2001. “Race, Neighborhood Poverty and Participation in Voluntary Associations.” *Sociological Forum* 16(3):529-557.
- Stoloff, Jennifer. 2004. “A Brief History of Public Housing.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association. Available at [http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p108852\\_index.html](http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p108852_index.html)
- Temkin, Kenneth and William M. Rohe. 1998. “Social Capital and Neighborhood Stability: An Empirical Investigation.” *Housing Policy Debate* 9(1):61-88.
- Turner, Margery Austin and Stephen L. Ross. 2005. “How Racial Discrimination Affects the Search for Housing” Pp. 81-100 In *The Geography of Opportunity: Race and Housing Choice in Metropolitan America* edited by Xavier de Souza Briggs. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.
- United States Department of Housing and Urban Development. 1994. “Residential Mobility Programs; Urban Policy Brief No. 1” Available at <http://www.huduser.org/portal/publications/urbaff/upb1.html>
- United States Department of Housing and Urban Development. History and Program Details. Available at <http://portal.hud.gov/portal/page/portal/HUD>

- United States Housing Act of 1937, as Amended by the Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act. Available at <http://www.hud.gov/offices/ogc/usha1937.pdf>
- Waldinger Roger. 1995. "The "Other Side" of Embeddedness: A Case Study of the Interplay between Economy and Ethnicity." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 18:555–580.
- Wellman, Barry. 1999. "Ties and Bonds." *Connections* 22(1):12-18.
- . 1979. "The Community Question." *American Journal of Sociology* 84:1201-31.
- White, Rob. 2007. "Public Spaces, Consumption, and the Social Regulation of Young People." Pp. 223-248 in *Youth, Globalization and the Law*. Edited by Sudhir Venkatesh and Ronald Kassimir. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Wilson, William Julius. 1996. *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor*. New York: Vintage Books.
- . 1987. *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, The Underclass and Public Policy*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Wyly, Elvin K. 1999. "Continuity and Change in the Restless Urban Landscape." *Economic Geography* 75(4):309-338.
- Zuberi, Anita. 2010. "Limited Exposure: Children's Activities and Neighborhood Effects in the Gautreaux Two Housing Mobility Program." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 32(4):403-520.
- Zukin, Sharon. 2002. "What's Space Got to Do With It?" *City and Community* 1(94):345-348.

## **APPENDIX A**

### **Adult Interview Guide**

Wave 4

Movers

#### **TOPIC MODULES**

Module 1: HOUSEHOLD/ CURRENT APARTMENT

Module 2: NEIGHBORHOOD

Module 3: LIFE HISTORY/ UPDATE

Module 4: CRIME/SAFETY

Module 5: MOVING EXPERIENCES

Module 6: CHILDREN/FAMILY

Module 7: WORK/BENEFITS

Module 8: SELF

## Introduction

My name is \_\_\_\_\_ and I am with Northwestern University and the Institute on Policy Research. Today we will be talking about your experiences with the Gautreaux program and your recent move. I'd also like to discuss your family, your neighbors, your neighborhood and any recent changes or major events in your life. We're interested in your experiences with the Gautreaux program, like how you found this unit and what it has been like to live in a different neighborhood.

Just as in the first interview, I have some questions in mind, and I'm sure you will have some things you want to talk about too. So think of this as a conversation between friends, rather than an "interview." We will be as informal as possible. You can stop talking at any time. If I raise an issue or ask a question you don't want to talk about, just say so and we will move on to something else. No big deal.

I'm going to record our conversation because I don't want to take many notes during the interview. This way, I can really concentrate on what you have to say. If you want me to turn the tape off for any reason or at any time, just say so. No one will hear the tape except for the research team and the secretary who transcribes it. Then we erase the tape. We take out your name and any other identifying information from the transcript. In other words, no one will know who you are, but a lot of people will hear what you have to say. Nothing you say can be traced back to you, nor will your participation affect any housing subsidy you may be receiving.

Is it okay if I turn on the tape recorder now? **(INTERVIEWER GET VERBAL CONSENT)**

The tape recorder is now on. **(INTERVIEWER: MAKE THIS STATEMENT AFTER YOU HAVE TURNED ON THE TAPE RECORDER.)**

Any questions?

OK, let's start.

**Module 1:**

**HOUSEHOLD/ CURRENT APARTMENT**

Would you mind telling me the names and ages of your children again? I know we've talked about them before, but I need to get it again for the tape. **(GET NAMES OF CHILDREN, AGES, SEX, AND RESIDENTIAL LOCATION)**

Is there anyone else who lives with you here other than your children?

About how long have you lived in this unit? **(FOR NEW UNIT)**

So your moving date was ... Can you remember it? **(GET DATE. IF POSSIBLE.)**

**(USE PROMPTS LIKE; AROUND CHRISTMAS, HOLIDAYS, START OF SCHOOL, ETC.)**

Let's talk about your current apartment. How many bedrooms?

I know you haven't been here that long, but have you had any problems with the unit? Could you tell me about them? How did the landlord respond when you told him/her about it? **(GET SPECIFIC DETAILS ABOUT LAST TIME RESPONDENT COMPLAINED AND WHAT HAPPENED)?**

If you were asked to rate your new apartment on a scale of 1 to 10, how would you rate it? How does this apartment compare with your old apartment?

How about your current building? Tell me about any problems with this building. How did the landlord respond when you told him or her about it? **(GET SPECIFIC DETAILS ABOUT LAST TIME RESPONDENT COMPLAINED AND WHAT HAPPENED).**

What other kinds of interactions have you had with the landlord so far? **(FOR EACH, GET THE WHOLE STORY FROM BEGINNING TO END.)**

If you were asked to rate the job performance of your landlord so far on a scale of 1 to 10, how would you rate him/her?

**Module 2:**

**NEIGHBORHOOD**

Have you met your neighbors yet? Tell me about your immediate neighbors, those on either side of you or above and below you.

What do you like best about these neighbors? Tell me more about that. What do you like least about these neighbors? Tell me more about that **(PROBE FOR PROBLEMS WITH NEIGHBORS, BUT ALSO FOR RESOURCE EXCHANGES THAT MAY OCCUR).**

Now let's talk about the neighborhood more generally. What do people call this neighborhood?

**INTENT: Get at personal impressions**

Let's say you had a friend from your old neighborhood. If she's never seen it here, how would you describe this neighborhood to her?

What do you like best about this neighborhood?

What do you like least about this neighborhood?

Do you have any friends or relatives that live in the neighborhood? Tell me about them. **(GET NAMES, SOME SENSE OF EACH PERSON'S RELATIONSHIP TO RESPONDENT, AND AGAIN PROBE FOR RESOURCE EXCHANGES).**

Who do you go to when you feel that you have a problem and need to talk about things? **(PROBE FOR RELATIONSHIP AND PROXIMITY TO RESPONDENT)**

Some people tell us they borrow and lend a lot with other people in their neighborhood. Others don't. How about you? Have you had to borrow anything from anyone here since you've moved? **(GET SPECIFIC DETAILS OF RECENT EXCHANGES OF FOOD, CHILD CARE, THE TELEPHONE, ETC...)**

How has life changed for you since you've moved here? What is different for you on a day to day basis? Let's go through an average day. **(WALK THEM THROUGH AN AVERAGE DAILY ROUTINE.)**

Has living here changed the things you do, where you go, or what you think about? How? Could you give me an example?

We've asked you a lot about how living here affects you. What about your kids? How has life changed for your kids since you've moved?

From their point of view, what are some good things about living here? Give me some recent examples. From their point of view, what are some bad things about the neighborhood? Give me some recent examples.

How would you compare this neighborhood to your old neighborhood? What about them is the same? What about them is different from each other?

Are there things you used to do in the old neighborhood that you can't do here? Like what? Are there things here that you can do that you weren't able to do in the old neighborhood? Like what?

What do you miss most about your old neighborhood?

What do you miss the least about your old neighborhood?

So far, what has it been like living in an area where most people are not living in poverty? Positives? Negatives?

So far, what has it been like living in an area where most people are not black?  
Positives? Negatives?

Have people generally been accepting of you and your family in this neighborhood?  
When was the last time someone was helpful or friendly? Could you tell me more about that? **(GET SPECIFIC DETAILS)**

Have some people made you and your family feel unwelcome in this neighborhood?  
When was the last time you felt this way? Could you tell me more about that? **(GET SPECIFIC DETAILS)**

Do your kids ever want to go back to the old neighborhood, either to live or to visit?

Have you been back to visit your old neighborhood for any reason? When was that? Can you tell about the visit, why you went, when you went, who went with you, who you saw? What was it like to go back?

Do you have any friends in your old neighborhood that you still keep in touch with?  
Could you tell me a little about them, remind me. How often do you see them or talk on the phone? Have they seen your new place yet?

Do you have relatives in your old neighborhood that you still keep in touch with? Could you tell me a little about them, remind me. How often do you see them or talk on the phone? Have they seen your new place yet?

Has your family been over to your new place yet, Parents, siblings? What did they think of it? How did you feel showing it to them?

### **Module 3:**

#### **LIFE HISTORY/ UPDATE**

Since the last time we spoke things may have changed. Tell me about anyone you're currently involved with **(PROBE FOR COHAB STATUS, LEVEL OF FINANCIAL AND EMOTIONAL SUPPORT)**. How has this move affected your relationship with him?

INTENT: Partner as contributor, both emotional and financial; household network support

Tell me where you shop right now. **(PROBE FOR WHERE SHE SHOPS, FOR WHAT, HOW OFTEN, HOW FAR AWAY IT IS, HOW SHE GETS THERE)**

- Groceries
- Clothes
- Household items

Where do you go to get your checks cashed, get money orders, pay bills?

Moving may have affected many things in your life. Tell me about other regular activities you participate in, like a church, community group, resident's council, the PTA, and so on. How has the move affected your participation in these activities? **(PROBE FOR WHERE SHE ATTENDS, FOR WHAT, HOW OFTEN, HOW FAR AWAY IT IS, HOW SHE GETS THERE)**

Have you joined any new groups since you've moved? Which ones? **(PROBE FOR WHERE SHE ATTENDS, FOR WHAT, HOW OFTEN, HOW FAR AWAY IT IS, HOW SHE GETS THERE)**

Tell me about other activities your children participate in, like church activities, recreation centers, after school programs, summer programs, boys and girls clubs, Big brother or big sister, tutoring, and so on. How has the move affected their participation in these activities? **(PROBE FOR WHERE THEY ATTEND, FOR WHAT, HOW OFTEN, HOW FAR AWAY IT IS, HOW THEY GET THERE)**

Have they joined any new activities since you've moved? Which ones? **(PROBE FOR WHERE SHE ATTENDS, FOR WHAT, HOW OFTEN, HOW FAR AWAY IT IS, HOW SHE GETS THERE)**

Have you attended any classes or gone back to school since you've moved? Tell a little more about that. Where and for what? **(EDUCATION, CURRENT AND FUTURE PLANS)**

#### **Module 4:**

#### **CRIME/SAFETY**

We talked a lot about this neighborhood. Some people think their neighborhoods are pretty safe, while others think they're dangerous. How about for you? How safe is this neighborhood for you in the daytime? At night?

What goes on around here that worries you? Daytime? At night? Give me some recent examples.

How often do you look out your windows or watch what's going on outside? Has anything interesting happened lately while you were doing that? Tell me about it **(GET STORY FROM BEGINNING TO END)**.

Intent: Participant's observation of public spaces

How do you and your kids avoid dangerous situations? **(PROBE FOR STRATEGIES.)**

How safe is this neighborhood compared to your old neighborhood? How does that affect what you can do and can't do?

Have you been the victim of a crime in the last six months? Tell me about that. How about your kids? Tell me about that. Now, was this before you moved, or after your

move? **(GET THE WHOLE STORY FROM START TO FINISH. IF MULTIPLE TIMES, ASK FOR MOST RECENT OCCURRENCE. IF POLICE INVOLVED, ASK WHETHER CHA POLICE OR CHICAGO POLICE)**

Have you had to call the police since you've moved in here? Tell me about that. What happened? What about the time before that? **(GET THE WHOLE STORY FROM START TO FINISH. )**

What about other interactions you or your children have had with the police? **(GET THE WHOLE STORY FROM START TO FINISH.) (PROBE FOR ANY ARRESTS.)**

Intent: Getting at arrests, incarcerations, treatment by police

Have you seen any signs of gang activity in this area? What were they? Could you tell me more about that? Do the gangs here affect your life on a day to day basis? How about your kids? **(PROBE FOR GANG INVOLVEMENT)**

#### **Module 5:**

#### **MOVING EXPERIENCE**

INTENT: We are trying to understand how Gautreaux works from a participant's point of view.

Now we're going to ask you about your experiences with the Gautreaux program.

Tell me about your search for housing before finding your unit. How many units did you end up looking at? What were they like? Where were they located?

**(PROBE FOR HOW THEY FOUND OUT ABOUT UNITS, RESOURCES USED, HOW THEY GOT TO SEE THEM, HOW MANY HOURS A WEEK THEY DEVOTED TO THE SEARCH, ETC.)**

How did you find this unit? Tell me the story from the time you heard about the it until you signed the lease.

Did the Leadership Council give you leads on any units? Did your housing counselor take you to see any units? **(PROBE FOR THE WHOLE STORY OF WHAT HAPPENED IN EACH SEPARATE ATTEMPT TO FIND HOUSING.)**

Did you lose any units? For what reason? **(PROBE FOR COMPLETE STORY OF WHY THEY LOST UNIT)** How did you feel when that happened? Was there a particular step in finding a unit that you felt was handled poorly and kept you from getting a unit?

What was the most difficult part of the search process? Tell me more about that. **(IF RESPONDENT HAS DISCUSSED CERTAIN BARRIERS WITH YOU PREVIOUSLY, SUM UP FOR TAPE AND LEAD THEM TO THOSE ISSUES.)**

Did you have to spend any money on your housing search? How much and what for? What was that like? How did you manage to make ends meet?

What was it like looking for a neighborhood that had to be a certain percent black? What were the positives? What were the negatives?

What was it like looking for a neighborhood that had to be a certain percent above poverty? What were the positives? What were the negatives?

Did the Gautreaux program's space and bedroom requirements affect your housing search? That is, did the number of bedrooms you needed make it easier or harder to find a unit?

Since you've been here, has anyone from Leadership Council come out for a supportive services visit? Who came? When was that? Tell me about the visit, what they did and said.

Remind me again who your counselor is. Tell me about your interactions with your counselor. **(PROBE FOR STORIES, NUMBER OF INTERACTIONS, DETAILS).** On a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 being the highest, how would you rate their helpfulness to you? Tell me more about that, what goes into that rating. How could they improve?

**(TAKE OUT MAPS.)** This is a map of Chicago and the surrounding suburbs. First, let's find your house on this map. **(HELP THEM IF NEEDED).** Here's where we are now. What areas did you looking for housing in? How did you choose this area?

**(MAKE SURE CITY NEIGHBORHOOD NAMES OR SUBURBAN LOCATIONS ARE ON THE TAPE.)**

Do you know anyone else that has moved through Gautreaux? Where did she move? What was her experience like? **(PROBE FOR SEARCH INFO, COUNSELOR INFO, ETC.)**

Moving can be stressful for families. How was the move for you? Did you get help from CHA or did you move yourself? How was that?

What did you do with most of your furniture? Did you bring it with you? Get rid of it? Sell it? Tell me about that decision.

What do you still need to set up your household here? Any kind of furniture, appliances, or other household items? Do you know when or where you might get them?

Not everyone in the program ends up moving, but you did. What do you think made you a successful mover? What advice would you give someone who was still trying to find a unit?

If you were designing a mobility program like Gautreaux, what would you change to make it easier for families to move? Tell me more about that, what about those things would help families move?

What things would have helped you with your housing search?

**Module 6:**

**CHILDREN / FAMILY**

**(ONCE YOU GET THE NAMES OF THE CHILDREN, PERSONALIZE INTERVIEW WITH THEIR NAMES, ASK SPECIFIC QUESTIONS ABOUT EACH. CONSULT ROSTER IF NEEDED.)**

**(FOR EACH CHILD)** Have your children changed schools? **(GO THROUGH, ONE BY ONE. IF ONE CHILD HAS CHANGED, BUT OTHERS HAVE NOT, PROBE FOR REASONS, THE WHOLE STORY BEHIND THAT DECISION)** What about their school experiences at their new school? Tell me about how they are adjusting. Are they in any special classes?

Are they making friends? How have their classmates been treating them? How did your child react after that first day at the new school? Could you tell me about that?

How does the school serve their needs or abilities? Tell me more about that. Can you rate what kind of job the school is doing for your kids on a scale of 1 to 10?

How does the new school compare to their old school? Is it more or less challenging? Are there different requirements or expectations of your child, or you as a parent?

Tell me more about that.

Tell me about any interaction you've had with your children's teachers since the move. **(GET THE WHOLE STORY, FROM BEGINNING TO END).** What about the principal or other school officials? Tell me about the first time you went to the school to transfer your child.

Tell me about how the kids' homework gets done. How has that changed since the move?**(PROBE FOR HOW MUCH HOMEWORK EACH CHILD TYPICALLY HAS, HOW LONG IT TAKES, AND WHETHER ITS DONE DURING SCHOOL, AT AN AFTER SCHOOL PROGRAM, ALONE AT HOME, OR WITH THE HELP OF AN ADULT.)**

I want to talk a little bit about your children's activities outside of school. Who besides you watches the children when you go work, run errands, and so on? Has this changed since the move? **(PROBE FOR RELATIONSHIP OF CAREGIVER TO RESPONDENT, AND WHETHER CAREGIVER IS PAID OR NOT.)**

On weekends and after school, how do your children spend their time? **(PROBE FOR LOCATION OF ANY PLAY AREA AND WHO SUPERVISES THE CHILDREN WHILE THEY PLAY.)** Are there things they used to do in the old neighborhood that they can't do here? Like what? Are there things here that they can do that they weren't able to do in the old neighborhood? Like what?

Are there playgrounds, parks, or rec centers around here? Do you utilize them? Tell me about the last time you went there with your kids. What happened?

Have your children talked about how this neighborhood is different from your old neighborhood? What did they say? When was that?

Has the move at all affected your children's relationship with their father(s)? How is that? Has it changed how much they see him, how much he helps the household? Tell me about the last time he called or saw the kids.

### **Module 7:**

#### **WORK/BENEFITS**

Let's talk a little bit about finances. Has your job situation changed since the last time we spoke? Are you working right now? Tell me a little about your current job **(PROBE FOR LOCATION, HOW FAR, HOW SHE GETS THERE, HOURS, PAY.)** Do you plan to stay at this job for a while? Tell me more about that.

How much do you pay for rent now? Is that the same amount you used to pay for your old apartment, or has it changed? What has that been like for you?

**(If it's more,** how do you manage the increase? **If it's less,** how helpful is that?)

What about utilities? What do you pay for now? How much do those things usually cost? What utilities did you pay for at your old apartment?

Has moving affected your financial situation, that is, has moving made it worse, better, or is it about the same? How so? Tell me about a typical month paying the bills since you've moved. **(FIND OUT IF THEY ARE USUALLY SHORT. WHOM DO THEY PAY FIRST? DO THEY SKIP SOME BILLS ENTIRELY OR SPREAD PAYMENTS AROUND? FINANCIAL STRATEGIES AND SOURCES OF SUPPORT.)**

Right now do you or anyone in your household get cash assistance from public aid?

What about Food Stamps, WIC, child care subsidies, Medicaid/CHIP, Social Security, SSI, heating assistance or disability? Do you or anyone in your household currently receive assistance from any of these programs?

TYPE OF ASSISTANCE	Receive now		
Public aid			
Food stamps			
WIC			
Child care subsidies			
Medicaid/CHIP			
Social Security			
SSI			
Heating assistance			
Disability			
Other			

A lot of people tell us that even with income from a job or public aid, there's NOT a lot of money left at the end of the month. How about for you? How do you get by every month? Are there any little things you do for extra money, or anywhere you can go when you're short? Tell me about that.

**Module 8:**

**SELF**

Let's wrap up by talking a little bit about health and healthcare. We may have already talked about some of these things in the last interview, but I'd like to go over them again.

Since you've moved, have you changed doctors for yourself or your children? Where do you and your kids currently get health care? **(PROBE FOR MEDICAL, DENTAL, SUBSTANCE ABUSE, AND MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES.)** Where is that located? How do you get there?

What's the closest hospital to you now?

Do you have any health problems that you know about, like asthma, high blood pressure, diabetes or something else? What are they? What do you do for that? Do you take any medicine or do anything special?

Tell me about your kids' health. Do any of the kids have any health problems? What are they? What do you do for that? Does he/she take any medicine or do anything special? What happened the last time your child (**PERSONALIZE**) had a problem with that?

Sometimes kids are healthy but have accidents or injuries that require medical attention. What about your kids? Have you or children had any kind of accident that required medical attention in the past six months? Could you tell me about that, what happened, what you did about it. **(PROBE FOR SPECIFIC INCIDENTS, AND GET THE WHOLE STORY FROM START TO FINISH.**

### **SELF-ADMINISTERED**

- CESD

**21 item CESD depression scale. Attach and use results as probes into problems or recent difficulties, cares and concerns. Give copy to respondent.**

Please check how often you have felt the following in the past week:

	<i>Less than 1 day</i>	<i>1-2 days</i>	<i>3-4 days</i>	<i>5-7 days</i>
I was happy				
I felt sad				
I felt lonely				
I talked less than usual				
I felt depressed				
I felt hopeful about the future				
I felt my life had been a failure				
I felt fearful				
My sleep was restless				
I felt that everything I did was an effort				
I enjoyed life				
I felt that people were unfair				
I had crying spells				
I felt that people disliked me				
I couldn't get going				
I felt that I was just as good as other people				
I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing				
I felt that I could not shake off the blues, even with help from my family and friends				
I didn't feel like eating / my appetite was poor				
I was bothered by things that usually don't bother me				

Where do you see yourself in five years? (**PROBES: JOB, EDUCATION, LIVING SITUATION, GOALS**)

Do you have any hobbies or things you like to do to pass the time or relax? What do you usually make?

Do you have a dream for your future? Tell me what it is.

## **CLOSING**

Thank you very much. I really appreciate your time and everything you have told me. Is there anything else you would like to share with me before I go? Questions I may have missed, or things you think are important?

OK, I'll leave a copy of the consent form for you, as well as my card and phone numbers for you to call in case you have any questions. Thank you for talking so freely about your life and your experiences. I'll call you again in a month or so to check on how you're doing and to see how your housing search is going. In the weeks after that, I may want to come back and talk to you again. If you move, I'd like to come and talk to you in your new place once you settle in.

If you think of anything you forgot to tell me, just call. Thanks again and good luck!

## **FOLLOW UP/ POST-INTERVIEW**

INTERVIEWERS: PLEASE RECORD THE FOLLOWING:

Use handheld transcribers or natural speak recorders.

1. Participant ID #
2. Location of interview
3. Development name, if applicable, or neighborhood, suburb name
4. Date/Time/ duration of interview
5. Field workers present
6. People present at interview, activities
7. Apartment: size, condition, location, cleanliness, style, anything that may have struck you on your trip to the bathroom.
8. Summary of exterior of building – condition, activities, people/
9. Respondent: interaction, appearance, attitude
10. Additional comments made after tape stopped rolling
11. Summary of any issues that may make this case notable, e.g. children, dramatic life events, respondent attitude, positive strides already made, etc.

**INTERVIEWER HOME OBSERVATIONS**

**Date** \_\_\_\_\_

Please check: Interview number: \_\_\_ Ist    \_\_\_ 2<sup>nd</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> \_\_\_

4<sup>th</sup> \_\_\_

Please check: \_\_\_ Original Unit                      \_\_\_ New Unit

Interviewer initials: \_\_\_\_\_

***Interior of Home***

**ID#** \_\_\_\_\_

**Physical condition**

	YES	NO	NOT OBSERVED
1. Did you observe any open cracks or holes in walls or ceiling, not little hairline cracks or nail holes but OPEN cracks or holes wider than the edge of a dime?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 6
2. Did you observe any areas of broken plaster or peeling paint bigger than the size of a standard business letter (8.5 x 11")?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 6
3. Does the house or apartment have wall-to-wall carpet?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 6
4. Does the house or apartment have obvious dampness, signs of flooding, or mold on the walls?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 6
5. Does the house or apartment have signs of roaches, rats, mice, or other infestations?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 6
6. Does the house or apartment have broken or boarded windows?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 6
7. Are all elevators in the building in working order, if applicable?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 6
8. Does the house or apartment have graffiti on the walls or in the hallways?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 6
9. Does the house or apartment have any strong chemical odors, fire smell, body odors, etc.?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 6
10. Were all the visible rooms in the apartment/ house cluttered?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 6
11. Was the apartment clean (e.g. no visible heavy dirt, clean toilet, no piles of dishes or food left out)?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 6
12. Does the house or apartment have any trash or litter in the hallways or around the building?	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 6